

BR. EX. 17

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
22 September 1931(Washington,) September 22,
1931

I opened the conversation with the Japanese Ambassador by referring to our last talk on September 17th when we had both expressed our feeling that the relations of our two countries were in such a satisfactory condition. I said I had been profoundly surprised and concerned by what was taking place in Manchuria and that I had sent Dr. Hornbeck to see the Ambassador on Saturday and now as the matter had developed I wished to see him myself. He said yes, that he had seen Dr. Hornbeck and he had told him of how surprised he (the Ambassador) had been and how concerned he was and how impossible it was for him to understand the causes of what had taken place.

I explained that as he well knew, I had the utmost confidence in Baron Shidehara and his desire for peace and correct international relations. I told him that I had learned from Dr. Hornbeck's report of what Debuchi had said Sunday--that there was a sharp cleavage between Shidehara and some of the militaristic elements of his government. He said that that was so. I said that what I was now doing was seeking to strengthen Baron Shidehara's hand and not to weaken it. The Ambassador said he understood that perfectly. I then took the memorandum which had been prepared (a copy of which is annexed) and read it very slowly to the Ambassador, paraphrasing the language into more simple words wherever it seemed at all necessary in order that he should fully understand it. He repeated many of the sentences, showing that he did understand. When I had finished I said that this was not to be taken as a formal note or an official action on the part of my government, but as the memorandum of a verbal statement given to the Ambassador for the purpose of enabling him to understand and report to his government how I, with my background of friendship towards Japan, felt towards this situation. I said that the Ambassador was at liberty to send it to Shidehara or not, as he saw fit. He said he understood perfectly and that the memorandum did not represent an official note but that if the situation was not remedied he understood that it might be followed by official action on our part later. He said he would communicate its contents to his government that evening.

I then told him that there was one thing however that I would like to ask of him and that was that he postpone his

departure for Japan until the situation was in better shape. I told him I felt confidence in him from our long relations together and that it would be easier to handle the situation if he was here. He expressed himself as very much touched by this and said that he was glad to be able to say that this morning he had, after having purchased his tickets and made all his plans, decided to postpone his departure and had told Madame Debuchi and his daughter to that effect, and had telegraphed out to the Japanese Consul in San Francisco to cancel the appointments he had made.

I spent quite a little time after reading the memorandum in pointing out what a serious impression it would make in this country if the situation of Manchuria is not restored to the status quo. He said he fully understood that and he had been surprised at the moderation of our American press thus far and attributed that to the care which I had taken in the press conferences. He begged me that if the time should ever come when I did wish to act officially in this matter I would first inform him. I said I would try to do so.

H(enry) L. S(timson)

Foreign Relations I, pp.527

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Br. Ex. 17

日滿長官備忘錄 一九三一年九月二十一日

(草稿) 一九三一年九月二十二日

余ハ日本大使ト九月十七日ノ長官ノ會見ニ關聯シ會見ヲ開始セリ。九月十七日ノ其會見ニ於テ我等兩人ハ我等兩國ノ關係ハ新クノ如ク滿足スヘキ試験ニアリトノ我々ノ處ジテ互ヒニ議り合セタル次第アリ。

余ハ清酒ニ於テ起リタル事管ニ付業爾ニ於キ且延處シ居ル事、土曜日ニ大使ニ會見ハル爲メニホウンベック博士ヲ遣シタル事、今ヤ寧邊邊境シタルジ以テ余自東大使ト會見ヲ希望シタルコト等ヲ語レリ大使ハ然リト答ヘ彼ハホウンベック博士ト會見シタル事反対意見如何ニ於キ且延處シ居ルカ又起サレタル事管ノ原因ヲ了解ハルコトガ如何ニ至ニナルカラ同博士ニ語リタル旨ヲ遣ベクリ。

余ハ彼モ無知シ居リシ事リ信頼易反ビ平和及公正ナル口説口係ニ猶スル彼ノ欲求ニ最大ノ信頼ヲ置キ居リシモノナルコトヲ語ベクリ。

余ハホウンベック博士ノ報告ニヨリ出瀬兵方日臣ニ語リシコト即テ信頼ト往レノ慶尙部内ニ於ケル軍國主義的分子トノ間ニシテ清方容スルコトヲ知リタル旨公ニ語リタリ。彼ハソノ通りテリト言ヘリ。

余ハ余方今爲シツ、アルコトハ信頼易ノ腕ヲ编程シ

且ツコレヲ馬スザルコトヲ求ムルコトナルヲ大飯ニ語
リタリ。大飯ハヨク此ヲ了承シタル旨語レリ。

余ハ尊信シアリシ備忘錄（英語ヲ添附ハ）ヲトリ大
飯ハ完全ニ理解スル爲メニ必至ナリト考慮サル。但
所ヲ簡單ナル言葉ニテ意譯シツ、大飯ニ徐々ニ讀ミ
聞カセケリ。大飯ハ其章句ノ參照ヲ復讐シテ之ヲ了
承シタル旨ヲ示セリ。

余ノ職ミ終リタルトキコノ備忘錄ハ我政府側ノ公式
文書也シクハ正式行動ト解釋スヘシラスシテ、余ノ
日本ニ就ハル玄謹シ背景トシテ現在ノ狀況ヲ余ガ如
何ニ看テ居ルヤア大飯方理解シ本日政府ニ報告スル
ヲ得セシムル目的ヲ以テ大飯ニ其ヘテレタル口頭ノ
申入レ此意ナリト解釋スヘキモノナリト余ハ語レリ
余ハ大飯ガ眞過誤ニヨリ常ニ報告ハシマセキヤハ自
由ナリト語リタリ。大飯ハ完全ニ理解シタル旨ヲ告
ゲ且ツ備忘錄ハ公式文書ニハキサルニ致シノ故也サ
レザル場合ニハ追テ我政府側ニ於テ正式行動ガ深ラ
ルヘキコトヲ了承シタル旨語レリ。余ハ彼玄本日政
府ニ其内容ヲ通報ハヘキ旨、語レリ。

余ハ其際後ニ一ノ依頼ハヘキコトアルヲ告ゲケリ。
英ハ成ルノ報告サルル迄ノ日本ヘノ出立ヲ延期スル
コトナリ。余ハ我ハ相互ノ通見日ノ次第ニヨリ余ガ
飯ニ信頼ヲ置ケ候方試口ニ居ルテラバ此局面處理ヲ

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一層宿馬アラシムベシト告げグリ。彼ハ此言ニ甚タ
感歎セル旨語リ且ツ今切符ヲ貰シメ候テノ計畫ヲ
ナシタルモ出立ヲ延期スルコトニ決定シ出端夫人及
彼ノ娘ニ之ヲ語リ、サンフランシスコ、ノ日本領事
ニ彼方既ニ打合セ清テリシ種々ナル取扱メノ取消方
ニ付シ報シタルコトヲ余ニ告グルヲ得ルヲ喜ブ旨語
レリ。

余ハ恒忘錄ノ記了公、小時間、漏洩ノ狀或方從來ノ
狀息ニ復歸セサル場合之方米國内ニ於テ如何ニ重大
ナル印象ヲ與フヘキカラ指摘シタリ。彼ハ悉ク此ヲ
了承シタル旨ヲ語リグリ。而シテ彼ハ米國新聞ガ只
今迄ノ所探り眉レル懸念ナル處底ニ爲キ、此ノ事實
ハ余方新聞會見ニ於テ示リ本タレル注意ニヨルモノ
ナリト語レリ。

此事件ニ關シ余ガ公式ニ行動スルコトヲ欲スル時期
ノ萬一到來シタル場合ハ余ガ最初ニ之ヲ彼ニ告グル
コトヲ彼ハ余ニ懸念セリ。余ハ頃ク計ラフベキ旨ヲ
告げグリ。

ヘンリ・エル・ステムソン

BR. EX. 18

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
TO THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR -- 22 SEPTEMBER 1931

Excerpt.

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MEMORANDUM

Without going into the background, either as to the immediate provocation or remote causes or motivation, it appears that there has developed within the past four days a situation in Manchuria which I find surprising and view with concern. Japanese military forces, with some opposition at some points by Chinese military forces, have occupied the principal strategic points in South Manchuria, including the principal administrative center, together with some at least of the public utilities. It appears that the highest Chinese authority ordered the Chinese military not to resist, and that, when news of the situation reached Tokyo, but after most of the acts of occupation had been consummated, the Japanese Government ordered cessation of military activities on the part of the Japanese forces. Nevertheless, it appears some military movements have been continuously and are even now in process. The actual situation is that an arm of the Japanese Government is in complete control of South Manchuria.

The League of Nations has given evidence of its concern. The Chinese Government has in various ways invoked action on the part of foreign governments, citing its reliance upon treaty obligations and inviting special reference to the Kellogg Pact.

This situation is of concern, morally, legally and politically to a considerable number of nations. It is not exclusively a matter of concern to Japan and China. It brings into question at once the meaning of certain provisions of agreements, such as the Nine Powers Treaty of February 6, 1922, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

The American Government is confident that it has not been the intention of the Japanese Government to create or to be a party to the creation of a situation which brings the applicability of treaty provisions into consideration. The American Government does not wish to be hasty in formulating its conclusions or in taking a position. However, the American Government feels that a very unfortunate situation exists, which no doubt is embarrassing to the Japanese Government. It would seem

that the responsibility for determining the course of events with regard to the liquidating of this situation rests largely upon Japan, for the simple reason that Japanese armed forces have seized and are exercising de facto control in South Manchuria.

It is alleged by the Chinese, and the allegation has the support of circumstantial evidence, that lines of communication outward from Manchuria, have been cut or interfered with. If this is true, it is unfortunate.

It is the hope of the American Government that the orders which it understands have been given both by the Japanese and the Chinese Governments to their military forces to refrain from hostilities and further movements will be respected and that there will be no further application of force. It is also the hope of the American Government that the Japanese and the Chinese Governments will find it possible speedily to demonstrate to the world that neither has any intention to take advantage, in furtherance of its own peculiar interests, of the situation which has been brought about in connection with and in consequence of this use of force.

What has occurred has already shaken the confidence of the public with regard to the stability of conditions in Manchuria, and it is believed that the crystallizing of a situation suggesting the necessity for an indefinite continuance of military occupation would further undermine that confidence.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 5 at 7-8

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1931. 1. 18

國務長官、日本大使ニ對スル覺書

一九三一年九月二十二日

記　奉

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覺　書

根底ニ述サカノボラナクトモ、直談ノ挑發アレ、又ハ這イ原因又ハ動機ニ關シテアレ、過去四日間ノ中ニ余カニキ且ツ懸念ヲ以テ目スル事態方南洲ニ發生シテ如ク見テレハ、日本軍隊ハ、或ル地點ニ於イテハ支那軍ノ反撃ヲ受ケタガ、少クトモ公共事業ノ幾ツカノ中心地ト共ニ、主ナル行政ノ中心地ヲ含ム南洲ニ於ケル主ナル戰略的地點ヲ占領シタノデアハ、最高文部省局ハ、支那軍ニ艦航スルナトノ命令ヲ幾シタ様ニ思ヘレソシテ情勢ノ報方東京ニ達シタ時ニ、大部分ノ占領行為方完成シタ後テハアツタガ、日本政府ハ日本軍隊團ニ於ケル戰鬪行為ノ中止ヲ命シタクト見受ケラレル。併シナカラ或ル軍事行動ハ繼續的ニ、ソシテ今テモ行ハレツ、アル如クニ見エル。眞實ノ情勢ハ、日本政府ノ勢力方南洲ヲ完全ニ統御シテキルノデアル。

國際聯盟ハソノ懸念ノ證據ヲ示シタ。文部政府

ハ、ソノ條約議務、信賴ヲ述べ、又、ケロッグ講
約ニ對スル特別ノ參照ヲ茲ムダリ、體々ノ方法テ
外國政府側ニ於ケル行動ヲ乞フタノデアル。

此ノ情勢ハ、大多數ノ國家ニ取ツテ、道徳的ニ、
法律的ニ、政治的ニ不安ヲ與ヘル。夫レハ、日本
及ビ支那ニ取ツテノミノ不實事アルノテハナイ。
夫レハ大正十一年（一九二二年）二月六日ノ九箇
國條約及ビケロッグブリアンド協定ノ如キ條約ノ
或條款ノ意味ニ就イテ直チニ疑問ヲモタラスモ、
デアル。

アメリカ政府ハ、條約ノ條款ノ適用ヲ考慮セシ
ムル情勢ヲ生ミ出ス、又ハ生ミ出ス一國トナラン
トスルハ日本政府ノ意圖ニアラザリシコトヲ信頼
スル。

アメリカ政府ハソノ結論ヲ述べ又ハ或ル態度ヲ
極卒ニ取ルコトヲ欲セス。併レドモ、日本政府ニ
取りテ疑モナク當惑ヲ感セシムル、非常ニ不幸ナ
ル事態方存ストアメリカ政府ハ感シテキル。此ノ
情勢ヲ清算スルニ關スル事柄ノ進行ヲ決定スル責
任ハ、大部分日本ニ存シテキルト思ハレル、ト云
フノハ、日本軍隊が占領シ且南滿洲ニ於ケル事實
上ノ文配ヲ實行シツ、アルト云フ簡單ナ理由カラ

アル。

滿洲カラ外ヘノ通信万絶タレ、又ハ訪問サレテキルト支那人ニ依ツテ主張サレテ居リ、又ソノ主張ハ、情況ニ依ル證様ノ文ヘヲ有シテキル。若シモ之レガ本當ナラバ、ソレハ不幸アル。

アメリカ政府ノ諒解スル敵對行爲及ビコレ以上ノ行動ヲ避ケヨトノ日本政府及ビ支那政府兩方ニヨリテソノ軍隊ニ與ヘラレタル、命令ガ尊重サレ、且コレ以上ノ武力行使ナキコトヲアメリカ政府ハ望ンデキル。日本及ビ支那政府ガ、各自自ラ特別ノ利益ヲ促進セントシ、此ノ武力行使ニ關係シテ、或ハ結果トシテ生ジタル情勢ヲ利用セントスル何等ノ意圖モ兩者共ニ有セザルヲ世界ニ向ツテ速カニ示スラ、可能ナリト認ムルヤウニトハ、亦アメリカ政府ノ望ム所アル。

今迄ニ起ツタ事ハ、滿洲ノ状勢ノ安定ニ關スル一般ノ確信ヲ既ニ弱メテキル、ソシテ、軍事占領ヲ無限ニ繼續セシムル必要ヲ指唆スル情勢ノ固定化ハ、更ニソノ確信ノ基ヲ危カラシムルテアラウト信セラレテキル。

BR. EX. 19

T E L E G R A M
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE CHARGE IN JAPAN
(NEVILLE)Washington, September 24, 1931--
4 p.m.

167. Please deliver to the Minister for Foreign Affairs immediately as a note, the identical text of which will be communicated by the American Minister to China to the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, the following:

"The Government and people of the United States have observed with regret and with great concern events of the past few days in Manchuria. In view of the sincere desire of the people of this country that principles and methods of peace shall prevail in international relations, and of the existence of treaties, to several of which the United States is a party, the provisions of which are intended to regulate the adjustment of controversies between nations without resort to use of force, the American Government feels warranted in expressing to the Chinese and the Japanese Governments its hope that they will cause their military forces to refrain from any further hostilities will so dispose respectively of their armed forces as to satisfy the requirements of international law and international agreements, and will refrain from activities which may prejudice the attainment by amicable methods of an adjustment of their differences."

STIMSON

Foreign Relations I, n. 9

Ex. 19
Br.

電 載

國務長官ヨリ庄日代理公使（ハザイル）電

ワシントン、昭和六年（一九三一年）九月二十四日午后四時

一六七、庄文米公使ヨリ支那外交部長ニ手書サレル
ベキ下記原文ト同様ノモノヲ一通書トシテ外務大
臣ニ直チニ手交セラレタシ、

「アメリカ合衆國政府及ビ國民ハ滿洲ニ於ケル過去
数日ノ事件ヲ遺憾ノ念ト多大ノ誠心トヲ以テ注視シ
ツ、アリ。平和ノ原則ト手段トヲ國際關係ニ普及セ
シメントスル吾國民ノ眞摯ナル希望及ビ合衆國ガソ
ノ加盟國ノ一員アリ且ソノ儀款方武力行使ニ斯ヘルコ
トナク國家間ノ紛争ノ調停ヲハカルコトヲ目的トス
ル諸條約ノ存在ニ鑑ミアメリカ政府ハ支那及ビ日本
政府ニ對シ兩政府ハ兩重條約シテ之以上敵對行動ヲ
止メシメ、國際法ト國際協定ノ要求ヲ滿足セシムル
如ク相互ニ武裝軍隊ヲ處理シ且友交手續ニヨル兩者
ノ爲争調停ノ達成ヲ當フオソレアル諸行動ニ却顧ス
ルテアラウトイフ希望ヲ通ベルコトヲ至當ト感スル
モノナル。

Stimson
スティムソン

外事關係一、九頁

Ex. 1922

Doc. No. 219P (5)

BR. EX. 21

THE JAPANESE EMBASSY TO THE DEPARTMENT
OF STATE

STATEMENT ISSUED AFTER EXTRAORDINARY CABINET MEETING
SEPTEMBER 24, 1931

Excerpt.

(5) It may be superfluous to repeat that the Japanese Government harbors no territorial designs in Manchuria.

Foreign Relations I, p. 11 at
12

FILE COPY
RETURN TO ROOM 361

Ex 923

公報關稅司
十一月二十一頁十一

明ニル道ガナキ所ナリ。

(五)日本國府ハ諸領ニ於テ領土的財心無キ事ハ反覆會

219P(5)

セラレタルハ總領ヘ傳達。

一九三一年八月六日/九月二十四日總領總領ヘ傳

日本六便箇ヨリ國會へ

Doc. No. 219P (6)

BR. EX. 22

NOTE FROM JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS TO THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN
JAPAN -- 2⁸ SEPTEMBER 1931

Excerpts.

The Japanese Government is deeply sensible of the friendly concern and the fairness of views with which the American Government has observed the recent course of events in Manchuria. . . Every care has been, and will continue to be, exercised by the Japanese forces to observe all the requirements of international law and international agreements, and to avoid any action that is calculated to prejudice an amicable settlement of the differences between Japan and China.

INVISILE

Foreign Relations I, p. 13

219P(6)

Ex. 22.
B. 1

日本外務大臣ヨリ日本駐露米國大使館ヘノ一九三一年ノ昭和六年ノ九月二十八日附書簡拔萃

日本政府ハ最近ノ溝口ニ於ケル事態ノ經過ニ關シ米國政府方示セル友好的關心ト公平ナル見解ヲ深ク感心シ居ル所ナリ。日本軍隊ハ國際法ト國際協定ニ依ル總ベテノ要求ヲ遵守スルタメ並ニ日本、中國間ノ紛争ノ友好的解決ヲ図善スルモノト看ラルル凡テノ行動ヲ追クルタメ從來有ラユル措置ヲ翻シ來タレルモノニシテ今後モ之レヲ續行セントスルモノナリ。

「ホビル」八名テランモ不明

外事局係一ノ十三頁

Ex. 924

Br. Ex. 23

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1931

Excerpts.

The Council,

1. Notes the replies of the Chinese and Japanese Governments to the urgent appeal addressed to them by its President and the steps that have already been taken in response to that appeal;

2. Recognizes the importance of the Japanese Government's statement that it has no territorial designs in Manchuria;

3. Notes the Japanese representative's statement that his Government will continue, as rapidly as possible, the withdrawal of its troops, which has already been begun, into the railway zone in proportion as the safety of the lives and property of Japanese nationals is effectively assured and that it hopes to carry out this intention in full as speedily as may be.

.

5. Being convinced that both Governments are anxious to avoid taking any action which might disturb the peace and good understanding between the two nations, notes that the Chinese and Japanese representatives have given assurances that their respective Governments will take all necessary steps to prevent any extension of the scope of the incident or any aggravation of the situation;

6. Requests both parties to do all in their power to hasten the restoration of normal relations between them and for that purpose to continue and speedily complete the execution of the above-mentioned undertakings;

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Foreign Relations I, pp. 13-14

219P(7)-1

Br. Ex. 23

一一九四(七)

一九三一年(昭和六年)九月三十日國際會議

理事会ニヨリ採擧セラレタル議議

披擧

理事会ハ

一議長ニヨリ支那及ビ日本政府ニ對シ發セラレタル
緊急要請ニ對スル兩國政府ノ回答及ビ該要請ニ應
ジ既ニ採擧セラタル議議ヲ了承ス。

ニ日本ガ滿洲ニ於テ領土的野心無キ旨ノ日本政府聲
明ノ重要性ヲ確認ス。

三日本國代表ガ、日本政府ハ可及的遠カニ既ニ國情
セラレタル既に遠附屬地ヘノ軍隊ノ撤退ヲ日本國人
ノ生命財ニ財產ガ效果的ニ確保セラルハ慶合ニ尊
ジ實行スペク且ツ此ノ意圖ヲ全般的ニ可及的遠カ
ニ遠行セシコトヲ皇ム旨眞達シタルコトヲ了承ス
。。。。。

四兩國政府方兩國家間ノ平和及ビ友好的了解ヲ始グ
ル如何ナル行動ヲモ遠クル無事アルコトヲ確信シ
中華民國並ニ日本國代表ガ、自國政府ガ或レモ事
既ノ英國ノ擴大或ハ事變ノ直大化ヲ遠クル凡ユル
必要ナル措置ヲ採ラントスル事ニ付保障ヲ與ヘタ
ルコトヲ了承ス。

Ex 925

219P(7)-2

六 次力營事者ニ送シ命送ニ同者固ノ正信固候ヲ同便
セシム全効ヲ體スペキコト、並ニ此ノ目的ノ爲上
述セル企圖ノ履行ヲ期ケ、送ニ之ヲ完成セシコト
ヲ要望ス。

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

對外關係第一局 一二一四一

Br. Ex. 24

T E L E G R A M
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE CONSUL
AT GENEVA (GILBERT)

(Paraphrase)

Washington, October 9, 1931-6 p.m.

.....

"On its part the American Government acting independently through its diplomatic representatives will endeavor to reinforce what the League does and will make clear that it has a keen interest in the matter and is not oblivious to the obligations which the disputants have assumed to their fellow signatories in the Pact of Paris as well as in the Nine Power Pact should a time arise when it would seem advisable to bring forward those obligations. By this course we avoid any danger of embarrassing the League in the course to which it is now committed."

STILLON

Foreign Relations I, pp. 17-18

219P(8)

Br. 24

【事報】

6926

GILBERT

逐次英文ヨリ ジュネーブ在銀亭(ギルバート)へ

(註) 1)

一九三一十月九日午後六時

(ワシントン)

カルトニア博士スノガ、接觸ト恩ハレル機ナ機合
ガ運ラバ、本來代表ヲジムノ立場ニ於テ活動シ
ツツアル米國政府ハ機監ノ爲ス所ラ都得スルニ努力
シ且、該事項ニ參入ノ心アル事ヲ認カニシ、且當
該事參議ガカリ一機、及ビ九ヶ機機同ニ於テ他
機監ニ譲シテ貢フテイル機器ヲ看過ヤザルツモリテ
アル。此ノ万能ニ依リ吾々ハ機監ガ現在機カサレテ
居ル万能ニ於テ機監ヲ國惑サセルガ如キ危險ヘ接ベ
テサケルノテアル。

スチムソン

STIMSON

外交部第一司 第十七、十八頁

Br. Ex. 25

RESOLUTION VOTED UPON BY THE COUNCIL OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS ON OCTOBER 24, 1931

The Council,

In pursuance of the resolution passed on September 30th:

Noting that in addition to the invocation by the Government of China, of Article 11 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 2 of the Pact of Paris has also been invoked *of the League of Nations*, by a number of the Governments:

(1) Recalls the undertakings given to the Council by the Governments of China and Japan in that resolution, and in particular the statement of the Japanese representative that the Japanese Government would continue as rapidly as possible the withdrawal of its troops into the railway zone in proportion as the safety of the lives and property of Japanese nationals is effectively assured, and the statement of the Chinese representative that his Government will assume the responsibility for the safety of the lives and property of Japanese nationals outside that zone--a pledge which implies the effective protection of Japanese subjects residing in Manchuria;

(2) Recalls further that both Governments have given the assurance that they would refrain from any measures which might aggravate the existing situation, and are therefore bound not to resort to any aggressive policy or action and to take measures to suppress hostile agitation;

(3) Recalls the Japanese statement that Japan has no territorial designs in Manchuria, and notes that this statement is in accordance with the terms of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and of the Nine-Power Treaty, the signatories of which are pledged to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China:

(4) Being convinced that the fulfillment of these assurances and undertakings is essential for the restoration of normal relations between the two parties:

(a) Calls upon the Japanese Government to begin immediately and to proceed progressively with the withdrawal of its troops into the railway zone, so that the total withdrawal may be effected before the date fixed for the next meeting of the Council:

(b) Calls upon the Chinese Government, in execution of its general pledge to assume the responsibility for the safety of the lives and property of all Japanese subjects resident in Manchuria, to make such arrangements for taking over the territory thus evacuated as will ensure the safety of the lives and property of Japanese subjects there, and requests the Chinese Government to associate with the Chinese authorities designated for the above purpose, representatives of other Powers in order that such representatives may follow the execution of the arrangements;

(5) Recommends that the Chinese and Japanese Governments should immediately appoint representatives to arrange the details of the execution of all points relating to the evacuation and the taking over of the evacuated territory so that they may proceed smoothly and without delay;

(6) Recommends the Chinese and Japanese Governments, as soon as the evacuation is completed, to begin direct negotiations on questions outstanding between them, and in particular those arising out of recent incidents as well as those relating to existing difficulties due to the railway situation in Manchuria. For this purpose, the Council suggests that the two parties should set up a conciliation committee, or some such permanent machinery;

(7) Decides to adjourn till November 16th, at which date it will again examine the situation, but authorizes its President to convoke a meeting at any earlier date should it in his opinion be desirable.

219P(9)-1

Br. Ex. 25

一九三一年／昭和六年／十月二十四日、國際聯盟理
事會ノ投票ニ依ル決議

理事会ハ、

九月三十日可決ノ決議ヲ參照、支那政府ガ國際聯
盟規約第一一條ノ適用ヲ懇請セシ外ニ、多數ノ政府

ガ巴里條約第二條ノ適用ヲ懇請セシコトヲ了承シ

(一)コノ決議ノ中ニ日本政府ガ理事會ニ與ヘタ約
定、特ニ日本政府ハ日本國民ノ生命及財產ノ安全
ガ有効ニ確保セラルニ從ヒ、日本軍隊ヲ鐵道附
屬地内ニ撤退セシムル爲既ニ開始セラレタ軍隊ノ
撤退ヲ出來ル限り速ニ續行スペシトイフ日本代表
ノ聲明及支那政府ハ鐵道附屬地外ニ於ケル日本國
民ノ生命及財產ノ安全ニ對スル責任ヲ負フベキ旨
ノ支那代表ノ聲明ト即チ滿洲ニ居住セル日本臣民
ヲ有効ニ保護スルトイフ言質ヲ想起スル。

(二)尙兩國政府ハ現狀ヲ悪化セシムル虞アル、如何ナ
ル措置ヲモ避ケ從ツテ如何ナル侵略政策或ヘ行爲
ニモ訴ヘルコトナク又敵意ヲ有スル擾亂ヲ抑制ス
ル措置ヲ取ル責任ヲ有ストイフ保證ヲ與ヘタコト
ヲ想起スル。

(三)日本ガ滿洲ニ於テ何等領土的目的ヲ有セザル旨ノ

日本ノ聲明ヲ想起シ又此ノ聲明ハ國際聯盟規約及九國條約ノ條項ニ一致シ、コレ等ノ條約ノ調印國ハ支那ノ主權、獨立、領土保全及行政的保全ヲ尊重スルコトヲ誓約セルコトヲ了承スル。

(四) コレ等ノ保證及了解ヲ實現スルコトハ兩國間ノ關係ヲ平常ニ復セシムルニ須要ナルコトヲ納得シ、

(1) 日本政府ハソノ軍隊ヲ鐵道附屬地ニ撤退セシムルコトヲ直チニ開始シ且續行シ理事會ノ次回ノ會合ニ指定サレタ期日以前ニ撤退ヲ完了スルコトヲ要請シ

(2) 支那政府ニハ滿洲居住ノ全日本臣民ノ生命及財產ノ安全保證ノ責任ヲ取ルトイフ一般的誓約ヲ實行スル際ニ斯様ニシテ明渡サレタ地域ヲ接收スルタメニ其處ニ居住スル日本臣民ノ生命財產ノ安全ヲ保證スル如キ手配ヲ爲スコトヲ要請シ又上記ノ目的ノタメニ任命サレタ支那當局ハ他ノ列強ノ代表者ト協同シソレ等ノ代表者ガコノ手配ノ實施ヲ監視スルヤウニスルコトヲ要求スル。

(五) 日支兩國政府ハ明渡及明渡サレタ地域ノ接收ニ關スル凡テノ點ノ實施細目ヲ取極メルタメニ直チニ代表者ヲ任命シ圓滑ニ且遲滯ナク進行セシムルヤ

ウ兩國政府ニ勧告スル。

(六) 日支兩國政府ヘ明渡完了次第速ニ兩國間ニ懸案ニ
ナツテキル問題特ニ最近ノ事變ノタメニ起ツタ間
題立ニ端済ニ於ケル鐵道事態ニ依ル現實ノ支障ニ
關スル問題ニ就テ直接交渉ヲ開始スルコトヲ勧告
スル。コノ目的ノタメニ理事會ハ兩當事國ガ和解
委員會又ハ何等力斯様ナ恒久的機關ヲ設置スルコ
トヲ提起スル。

(七) 會合ヲ十一月十六日マテニ延期スルコトニ決定ス
ル、ソノ日ニハ事態ヲ再び検討スルコトニスル、
然シ議長ノ意見ニシテ希望スルトアレバソレヨリ
モ早イ時期ニ會議ヲ召集スル權能ヲ議長ニ賦與ス
ル。

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS ON DECEMBER 10, 1931

Excerpts.

The Council.

(1) Reaffirms the resolution passed unanimously by it on September 30th, 1931, by which the two parties declare that they are solemnly bound; it therefore calls upon the Chinese and Japanese Governments to take all steps necessary to assure its execution, so that the withdrawal of the Japanese troops within the railway zone may be effected as speedily as possible under the conditions set forth in the said resolution;

Decides to appoint a Commission of five members to study on the spot and to report to the Council on any circumstance which, affecting international relations, threatens to disturb peace between China and Japan, or the good understanding between them, upon which peace depends;

Foreign Relations I, pp. 59-60

219 P (10)

Br. S. 26

一九三一年（昭和六年）十二月十日開會

總務會ニヨリ於津サレタル決議

該等

總務會

(一) 一九三一年（昭和六年）九月三十日開會一ノヲ以テ通過セル決議ヲ尋ねタルス。此ノ決議ニヨリ兩當事國ハ該局ニ右決議ヲ遵守スル義務ヲ負フ旨ヲ宣言ス。該ニ中國及び日本兩政府ハ、右決議履行ヲ確保スルニ必至ナル凡ユル手段ヲ執ルコトヲ要請サレ、其ノ爲ニ日本軍ノ撤退附屬地ヘノ撤退ハ該決議ニ於テ規定セラレタル諸條件ニ當キ可及的道カニ實施スルヲ長ス。

× × ×

該等會ハ國際關係及ビ中日兩ノ平和共存ノ看成及ハ平和ノ爲ツテ之ク兩國間ノ良キ理解ニ影響ヲ及ぶス凡ユル事情ヲ現地ニ於テ調査シ、之ヲ總務會ニ報告セシムル爲メ該會員五名ヨリ威ル委員ノ任命ヲ決定ス。

Doc. No. 219P (11)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 77

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE MINISTER IN CHINA
(JOHNSON)Washington, December 11, 1931 -
11 a.m.

485. On December 10 the Secretary of State issued a statement to the press as follows:

"The Government of the United States is gratified at the unanimous adoption by the Council of the League of Nations of the Resolution of December 10. This represents a definite step of progress in a long and difficult negotiation which L. Briand and his associates have conducted with great patience.

The Council of the League of Nations was in session on September 18 when the present situation in Manchuria first developed. China at once appealed to the Council under Article 11 of the League Covenant. The Council took immediate cognizance of this appeal, and China and Japan participated in the discussions before it in accordance with their obligations as parties to the covenant. This Government has from the beginning endeavored to cooperate with and support these efforts of the Council by representations through the diplomatic channels to both Japan and China. Not only are the American people interested in the same objective sought by the League of preventing a disastrous war and securing a peaceful solution of the Manchurian controversy, but as a fellow signatory with Japan and China in the Kellogg-Briand Pact and in the so-called Nine-Power Treaty of February 6, 1922, this government has a direct interest in and obligation under the undertakings of those treaties.

The present Resolution provides for the immediate cessation of hostilities. It reaffirms the solemn pledge of Japan to withdraw her troops within the railway zone as speedily as possible. It provides for the appointment of a commission of five members to study on the spot and report to the Council on any circumstances which disturbs the peace or affects the good understandings between China and Japan. Such a provision for a neutral commission is in itself an important and

Br. Ex. 27

constructive step towards an ultimate and fair solution of the intricate problem presented in Manchuria. It means the application with the consent of both China and Japan of modern and enlightened methods of conciliation to the solution of this problem. The principle which underlies it exists in many treaties of conciliation to which the United States is a party and which have played in recent years a prominent part in the constructive peace machinery of the world. The operation of such a commission gives time for the heat of controversy to subside and makes possible a careful study of the underlying problem

• • •

These are the essential principles for which the United States and the nations represented on the Council have been striving and it is in itself a signal accomplishment that there has been arrayed behind these principles in a harmonious cooperation such a solid alignment of the nations of the world.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 60-61

一九三一年乃至一九四五年ノ朝鮮ニ於
ケル兵營施設ノ増加ニ就イテ

滿洲占領時ノ朝鮮ノ日本軍應用ノ全兵營施設ハ
補強隊ヲ持ツ歩兵二箇師團ニ等シカツタ。兵舍並
ニ軍營部落ハ概シテ此ノ國ノ大都市ニ存シタ、即
テ京城、平壤、羅南、鎮海テアル。

日本ノ滿洲占領後ハ朝鮮ニ於テ兵營施設ノ急遽
ナ發展方始ツタ。而シテ兵舍並ニ軍營部落ハ概シ
テ北朝鮮ニ建テラレ、主トシテソウイエイト社會
主義共和國聯邦ト境ヲ接スル地万ニ建テラレタ。

一九三一年乃至一九四一年朝鮮ニ於ケル兵營施
設ハ三倍以上ニモ増加サレ、七箇歩兵師團ヲ收容
スル事方が可能デアツタ。ソノ中、北朝鮮ニ收容シ
得ルモノハ五箇師團デアツタ。

一九四一年乃至一九四五年日本ハ朝鮮全境ニ
亘ツテ兵舍並ニ軍營部落ノ建設ヲ繼續シタ。此期
間ニ於テ朝鮮ノ兵營施設ノ收容能力ハ補強隊ヲ持
ツ十二箇歩兵師團ニ迄達シタ。

カクシテ朝鮮ニ於ケル、就中ソノ北部地方ニ於

ケル軍事兵營ノ多數ノ建設ハ日本軍部本部方、朝鮮ラソヴィエート沿海洲ニ侵入ハハ爲ノ根據地トナサント計畫シテキタ事ヲ證明スルモノアル。

附錄 1 地圖「一九三一年乃至一九三二年ノ朝鮮ニ於ケル兵營施設」

2 地圖「一九四一年乃至一九四二年ノ朝鮮ニ於ケル兵營施設」

3 地圖「一九四五年ノ朝鮮ニ於ケル兵營施設」

赤軍參謀本部總務部代理

陸軍大佐

(ツヴィヤテコ)

一九四六年一月三〇日

2150

證

余平野英雄ハ余方西英語及ビ日本語ニ精通セ
ル者ナルコト並ニ書語原文及ビ日本語原文ヲ對照
ノ上右ハ本書類ヲ眞實ニ且正確ニ翻譯セルモノナ
ルヲ確證セルコトヲ茲ニ證ス

平野英雄
(印)

Ex. 930

Doc. No. 219P (4)

Br. Ex. 20

TELEGRAM
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN
(FORBES)

Washington, January 7, 1932--noon.

7. Please deliver to the Foreign Office on behalf of your Government as soon as possible the following note:

"With the recent military operations about Chinchow, the last remaining administrative authority of the Government of the Chinese Republic in South Manchuria, as it existed prior to September 18th, 1931, has been destroyed. The American Government continues confident that the work of the neutral commission recently authorized by the Council of the League of Nations will facilitate an ultimate solution of the difficulties now existing between China and Japan. But in view of the present situation and of its own rights and obligations therein, the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot admit the legality of any situation *de facto* nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those Governments, or agents thereof, which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the open door policy; and that it does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the covenants and obligations of the Pact of Paris of August 27, 1929, to which Treaty both China and Japan, as well as the United States, are parties."

State that an identical note is being sent to the Chinese government.

STIMSON

Foreign Relations I, p. 76

930

219P(4)-1

國務長官登庄日大使(ヨウジヤウ) フォーブス宛電報 B.E. 20

華盛頓一九三二年(昭和七年) 一月七日正午發

七、六ノ要旨ヲ至急本政府ノ爲メ外務省ヘ傳達
被下度

「最近ノ錦洲附近ニ於ケル軍事行動ニヨリ一九三一年(昭和六年) 九月十八日以前ニ存在シタ様ナ南滿洲ニ於ル中國政府ノ最後ノ獨存行政權
ハ消滅シタ。國際聯盟委員會が最近承認シタ中
立委員會ノ業務ハ現在日華間ニ存在スル困難ナ
ル問題ノ最局的解決ヲ容易ニスルモノナルコト
ヲ重米利加政府ハ依然確信スル。併シ乍ラ現時
局並ニ夫ニ属スル我國ノ權利及義務ニ觸ガミ、
重米利加政府ハ現在ノ事態ノ合法性ヲ容認出來
難ク又兩國政府又ヘ其代理機關ノ間ニ締結サレ
タル條約若クハ協定ニシテ中國ノ主權、獨立、
若クハ領土的及行政的保全又ハ通常門戶開放政
策トシテ知ラル、中國ニ屬スル國際政事ニ關係
アルモノヲ皆メ、合衆國又ヘ在中國合衆國民ノ
條約上ノ權利ヲ損フ恐アル條約若シクハ協定ヲ
承認スル意志ナキコト、並ニ中國、日本及ビ合
衆國カ加压スル一九二八年(昭和三年) 八月二
十七日附巴里條約ノ約定並ニ義務ニ違背スル手

段ニ位リ賛ラサル、局西、條約若シクハ擇定ヲ承認スル意志ヲキコトヲ併セテ日本帝國政府及中國政府ニ通告スルコトヲ執務ナリトニ特ス。同一場合ニ中國政府ニ蒙送中ナル事ヲ讀フヒ度。

/ Stimson /
スチムソン

Br. Ex. 31

Ex-931

TELEGRAM
THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (FORBES) TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATETOKYO, January 16, 1932--2 p.m.
(Received January 16--6:03 a.m.)

11. Department's telegram No. 7, January 7, noon.
I have just received the reply of the Japanese Government
which reads as follows:

• • • • •
"The Government of Japan were well aware that
the Government of the United States could always be
relied on to do everything in their power to support
Japan's efforts to secure the full and complete
fulfillment in every detail of the treaties of
Washington and the Kellogg Treaty for the Outlawry
of War. They are glad to receive this additional
assurance of the fact.

As regards the question which Your Excellency
specifically mentions of the policy of the so-call
'open door,' the Japanese Government, as has so
often been stated, regard that policy as a cardinal
feature of the politics of the Far East, and only
regrets that its effectiveness is so seriously
diminished by the unsettled conditions which prevail
throughout China. Insofar as they can secure it,
the policy of the open door will always be maintained
in Manchuria, as in China proper.

• • • • •
While it need not be repeated that Japan
entertains in Manchuria no territorial aims or
ambitions, yet, as Your Excellency knows, the
welfare and safety of Manchuria and its
accessibility for general trade are matters of
the deepest interest and of quite extraordinary
importance to the Japanese people.

FORBES

Foreign Relations I, pp. 76-77

電報

60931
Br. 31
フォーブス (Forbes) 噉日大便ヨリ國務長官宛

昭和七年(一九三二年)一月十六日午后二時東京發

(一月十六日午前六時三分 受信)

十一、國務省電報第七號一月七日正午。余ハ只今次
ノ如キ日本政府カラノ回答ニ該セリ。

「日本政府ハ合衆國政府ガ必ズヤ信ニ、ワシントン
條約及戰爭挑糾ヲ主張スルケロツグ條約ノ各細目ニ
亘ツテ全仰且完全ナル遂行ヲ確保セントスル日本ノ
努力ヲ支持スルタメニ全力ヲ盡シクレルモノナル事
ヲ能ク承知シ居レリ。日本政府ハ更ニコノ事實ニ關
シ保證ヲ得タコトヲ喜ブモノテアル。」

國下方條ニ言及セラレ居ル所謂「門戶開放」政策
ニ關シテハ、日本政府ハ、屢次述べラレ居ル如ク、
該政策ヲ極東政策ノ主要條件ト見做シ居リ、且ツ全
文ニミナギル狀勢不安ニヨリソノ結果ノ著シク誠恐
サレ居ルコトヲ只管遺憾トシテイル。日本政府ガ其
ヲ確保シ得ル限りニ於テ門戶開放政策ハ文那本部ニ

219P(131)-2

於ケルト同様當ニ滿洲ニ於テモ機持サレルテアラウ。

日本ハ滿洲ニ於テ何等ノ領土的意圖モ野心ヲモ有
セザルコトハ言ヲ重ネル要ナキモ、閣下御承知ノ如
ク滿洲ノ福祉ト安全及一級通商ノ圓滑ハ日本國民ニ
トリ最大ノ國心事テアリ且極メテ重大ナ問題テアル。

フォーブス (Forbes)

外事關係一七六頁 177頁

Br. Ex. 32

TELEGRAM
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE CONSUL GENERAL
AT SHANGHAI (CUNNINGHAM)

Washington, February 24, 1932 - 2 p.m.

50. For the Minister. Reference your February 9, 9 a.m., from Nanking, paragraph 2, and Nanking's 14, January 24, 4 p.m., paragraph 5, and Shanghai's 72, February 18, 6 p.m., paragraph 5.

1. There is now being released to the press here the text of a letter from the Secretary of State to Senator Borah, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

You should communicate to the Foreign Office and make available to the press, at once, the text, as follows:

"You have asked my opinion whether, as has been sometimes recently suggested, present conditions in China have in any way indicated that the so-called Nine Power Treaty has become inapplicable or ineffective or rightly in need of modification, and if so, what I considered should be the policy of this Government.

This Treaty, as you of course know, forms the legal basis upon which now rests the 'Open Door' policy towards China. That policy, enunciated by John Hay in 1899, brought to an end the struggle among various powers for so-called spheres of interest in China which was threatening the dismemberment of that empire. To accomplish this Mr. Hay invoked two principles (1) equality of commercial opportunity among all nations in dealing with China, and (2) as necessary to that equality the preservation of China's territorial and administrative integrity. These principles were not new in the foreign policy of America. They had been the principles upon which it rested in its dealings with other nations for many years. In the case of China they were invoked to save a situation which not only threatened the future development and sovereignty of that great Asiatic people, but also threatened to create dangerous and constantly increasing rivalries between the other nations of the world. War had

already taken ~~taken~~ place between Japan and China. At the close of that war three other nations intervened to prevent Japan from obtaining some of the results of that war claimed by her. Other nations sought and had obtained spheres of interest. Partly as a result of these actions a serious uprising had broken out in China which endangered the legations of all of the powers at Peking. While the attack on those legations was in progress, Mr. Hay made an announcement in respect to this policy as the principle upon which the powers should act in the settlement of the rebellion. He said

'The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.'

He was successful in obtaining the assent of the other powers to the policy thus announced.

In taking these steps Mr. Hay acted with the cordial support of the British Government. In responding to Mr. Hay's announcement, above set forth, Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister expressed himself 'most emphatically as concurring in the policy of the United States.'

For twenty years thereafter the Open Door policy rested upon the informal commitments thus made by the various powers. But in the winter of 1921 to 1922, at a conference participated in by all of the principal powers which had interests in the Pacific, the policy was crystallized into the so-called Nine Power Treaty, which gave definition and precision to the principles upon which the policy rested. In the first article of that Treaty, the contracting powers, other than China, agreed

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

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2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government.

3. To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.

4. To refrain from taking advantage of conditions in China in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states, and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.

This Treaty thus represents a carefully developed and matured international policy intended, on the one hand, to assure to all of the contracting parties their rights and interests in and with regard to China, and on the other hand, to assure to the people of China the fullest opportunity to develop without molestation their sovereignty and independence according to the modern and enlightened standards believed to maintain among the peoples of this earth. At the time this Treaty was signed, it was known that China was engaged in an attempt to develop the free institutions of a self-governing republic after her recent revolution from an autocratic form of government; that she would require many years of both economic and political effort to that end; and that her progress would necessarily be slow. The Treaty was thus a covenant of self-denial among the signatory powers in deliberate renunciation of any policy of aggression which might tend to interfere with that development. It was believed--and the whole history of the development of the 'Open Door' policy reveals that faith--that only by such a process, under the protection of such an agreement, could the fullest interests not only of China but of all nations which have intercourse with her best be served.

In its report to the President announcing this Treaty, the American Delegation, headed by the then Secretary of State, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, said

'It is believed that through this Treaty the 'Open Door' in China has at last been made a fact.'

During the course of the discussions which resulted in the Treaty, the Chairman of the British delegation, Lord Balfour, had stated that

'The British Empire delegation understood that there was no representative of any power around the table who thought that the old practice of "spheres of interest" was either advocated by any government or would be tolerable to this conference. So far as the British Government was concerned, they had, in the most formal manner, publicly announced that they regarded this practice as utterly inappropriate to the existing situation.'

At the same time the representative of Japan, Baron Shidahara, announced the position of his government as follows:

'No one denies to China her sacred right to govern herself. No one stands in the way of China to work out her own great national destiny.'

The Treaty was originally executed by the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal. Subsequently it was also executed by Norway, Bolivia, Sweden, Denmark and Mexico. Germany has signed it but her Parliament has not yet ratified it.

It must be remembered also that this Treaty was one of several treaties and agreements entered into at the Washington Conference by the various powers concerned, all of which were interrelated and interdependent. No one of these treaties can be disregarded without disturbing the general understanding and equilibrium which were intended to be accomplished and effected by the group of agreements arrived at in their entirety. The Washington Conference was essentially a disarmament conference, aimed to promote the possibility of peace in the world not only through the cessation of competition in naval armament but also by the solution of various other disturbing problems which threatened the peace of the world, particularly in the Far East. These

problems were all interrelated. The willingness of the American government to surrender its then commanding lead in battleship construction and to leave its positions at Guam and in the Philippines without further fortification, was predicated upon, among other things, the self-denying covenants contained in the Nine Power Treaty, which assured the nations of the world not only of equal opportunity for their Eastern trade but also against the military aggrandizement of any other power at the expense of China. One cannot discuss the possibility of modifying or abrogating those provisions of the Nine Power Treaty without considering at the same time the other promises upon which they were really dependent.

Six years later the policy of self-denial against aggression by a stronger against a weaker power, upon which the Nine-Power Treaty had been based, received a powerful reinforcement by the execution by substantially all the nations of the world of the Pact of Paris, the so-called Kellogg-Briand Pact. These two treaties represent independent but harmonious steps taken for the purpose of aligning the conscience and public opinion of the world in favor of a system of orderly development by the law of nations including the settlement of all controversies by methods of justice and peace instead of by arbitrary force. The program for the protection of China from outside aggression is an essential part of any such development. The signatories and adherents of the Nine Power Treaty rightly felt that the orderly and peaceful development of the 400,000,000 of people inhabiting China was necessary to the peaceful welfare of the entire world and that no program for the welfare of the world as a whole could afford to neglect the welfare and protection of China.

The recent events which have taken place in China, especially the hostilities which have been begun in Manchuria have latterly been extended to Shanghai, far from indicating the advisability of any modification of the treaties we have been discussing, have tended to bring home the vital importance of the faithful observance of the

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covenants therein to all of the nations interested in the Far East. It is not necessary in that connection to inquire into the causes of the controversy or attempt to apportion the blame between the two nations which are unhappily involved: for regardless of cause or responsibility, it is clear beyond peradventure that a situation has developed which cannot, under any circumstances, be reconciled with the obligations of the covenants of these two treaties, and that if the treaties had been faithfully observed such a situation could not have arisen. The signatories of the Nine Power Treaty and of the Kellogg-Briand Pact who are not parties to that conflict are not likely to see any reason for modifying the terms of those treaties. To them the real value of the faithful performance of the treaties has been brought sharply home by the perils and losses to which their nationals have been subjected in Shanghai.

That is the view of this Government. We see no reason for abandoning the enlightened principles which are embodied in these treaties. We believe that this situation would have been avoided had these covenants been faithfully observed, and no evidence has come to us to indicate that a due compliance with them would have interfered with the adequate protection of the legitimate rights in China of the signatories of those treaties and their nationals.

On January 7th last, upon the instruction of the President, this Government formally notified Japan and China that it would not recognize any situation, treaty or agreement entered into by these governments in violation of the covenants of these treaties, which affected the rights of our Government or its citizens in China. If a similar decision should be reached and a similar position taken by the other governments of the world, a caveat will be placed upon such action which, we believe, will effectively bar the legality hereafter of any title or right sought to be obtained by pressure or treaty violation, and which, as has been shown by history in the past, will eventually lead to the restoration to China of rights and titles of which she may have been deprived.

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In the past our Government, as one of the leading powers on the Pacific Ocean, has rested its policy upon an abiding faith in the future of the people of China and upon the ultimate success in dealing with them of the principles of fair play, patience, and mutual goodwill. We appreciate the immensity of the task which lies before her statesmen in the development of her country and its government. The delays in her progress, the instability of her attempts to secure a responsible government, were foreseen by Messrs. Hay and Hughes and their contemporaries and were the very obstacles which the policy of the Open Door was designed to meet. We concur with those statesmen, representing all the nations in the Washington Conference who decided that China was entitled to the time necessary to accomplish her development. We are prepared to make that our policy for the future.

Very sincerely yours, (Signed) Henry L. Stimson"

2. Repeat the whole of the above in clear at once to Tokyo.

STIMSON

Foreign Relations I, pp. 83-87

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一一九 P (一四)

國務長官ヨリ汪上岸總領事(カンニンガム)ヘノ電文

一九三〇年(昭和五年)二月二十四日午後二時

ワシントンニ於テ

五〇。公使宛。二月九日午前九時南京ヨリ貴官發電報第二節、南京一四號一月二十四日午後四時發電報第五節、及ビ上海七二號二月十八日午後六時發電報第五節參照ノコト、

一、唯今當地新聞ニ對シ、國務長官ヨリ上院外交委員長上院議員ボラ1宛書翰ノ正文ガ公表セラレントシツ、アリ。

貴官ハ外務省ニ連絡シ、直ニ以下述フル正文ヲ新聞用ニ供セラルベシ。

TO 「貴官ハ、最近復國指示ヲ受ケタル所ナルガ、中華民國ニ於ケル現狀ハ、所謂九ヶ國條約ノ適用不能狀態ニアリヤ、或ハ無效狀態ニアリヤ、或ハ直ニ修正ヲ必要トスル狀態ニアリヤ、又其ノ何レカノ狀態ナル時、余ノ思考スル所ガ、本政府ノ政策タリヤ否ヤニ付余ノ意見ヲ陳シタリ。

勿論貴官ノ知レル如ク、本條約ハ現在中華民國ニ對スル「門戶開放」改策ノ法律的根據ヲ爲スモノナリ。一八九九年(明治三十二年)一〇月。

RE TURN

一一九p (一四)

國務長官ヨリ汪上海総領事(カンニンガム)ヘノ電文

一九三二年(昭和七年)一月二十四日午後二時

ワシントンニ於テ

五〇。公使宛。二月九日午前九時南京ヨリ貴官發電報第二節、南京一四號一月二十四日午後四時發電報第五節、及び上海七二號二月十八日午後六時發電報第五節参照ノコト、

一、唯今當地新聞ニ對シ、國務長官ヨリ上院外交委員長上院議員ボラ1死書翰ノ正文ガ公表セラレントシツアリ。

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勿論貴官ノ知レハ如ク、本條約ハ現在中華民國ニ對スル「門戶開放」政策ノ法律的根據ヲ爲スモノナリ。一八九九年(明治三十二年)一月ヨン。

ヘイニヨリ宣言セラレタル該政策ハ、中華民國ヲ分創セントスルガ如キ、列強ノ中國ニ於ケル所謂勢力圏ノ紛争ヲ終息セシメタリ。之ヲ完全ニセシン爲、「ヘイニ氏ハ六ノ二原則ヲ提唱セリ。」(一)中華民國トノ取引ニ當り、全テノ國民面ニ於ケル商業上ノ機会均等及ビ(二)該機会均等ニ必要ナル中華民國ノ領土及ビ行政ノ保全ノ維持。該原則ハアメリカノ對外政策ニ於テハ斬新ノモノニ非ズ。該原則ハ多年諸國民トノ取引ニ際シテ、ソノ根本原則トナシ來リタルモノナリ。中華民國ノ場合ニ於テハ、該原則ハ、彼ノ偉大ナルアジア國民ノ將來ノ發展ト主権トヲ有威スルノミナラズ、世界ノ他國民トノ間ニ危險且不斷ニ紛争ヲ増大セシメントスルガ如キ、狀勢ヲモ救濟センガ爲ニ提唱セラレタルナリ。戰爭ハ既ニ日本及ビ中華民國間ニ發生セリ。該戰爭ノ終期ニ當り他ノ三國民ハ日本ガ要求セル戰爭ノ結果ノ一部ヲ獲得スルコトヲ妨害セン爲干渉セリ。他ノ國民ハ要求シタル結果勢力圏ヲ獲得シタリ。一部ハ是等行動ノ結果トシテ激烈ナル暴動、中華民國內ニ勃發シ北京ニ於ケル列強ノ全公使館ヲ危殆ニ頻セシメタリ。此ノ公使館攻撃ノ行ハレツ、アル間ニ、「ヘイニ氏ハ列強ガ反亂鎮壓ニ當り行動スペキ原則トシテ該政策ニ關スル聲明ヲ發シタリ。彼曰ク、

一合衆國政府ノ政策ハ、中華民國ニ恒久的安全、
平和トヲ齎シ、中華民國ノ領土的行政的實体ヲ保
持シ、條約ト國際法トニ依リ友好列強ニ保障セラ
レタル全テノ権利ヲ保護シ、更ニ世界ノ爲、中華
民國ノ全領域ニ於テノ平等公平ナル通商ノ原則ヲ
擁護セントスルニ在リ。」ト。

彼ハ斯ク聲明セル政策ニ對シテ他ノ列強ノ同意ヲ得
ルコトニ成功シタリ。

斯カル指揮ヲ採レル際、「ヘイ」氏ハ英國政府ノ懇
意ナル支持ヲ受ケ行動セリ。上述セル「ヘイ」氏ノ
聲明ニ呼應シテ英國首相「サリスベリー」卿ハ自ラ最
モ襟心ニ合衆國ノ政策ニ同意ヲ表スル旨ヲ述ベタリ。

其ノ後二十年間門戸開放政策ハ斯ク多數列強ニヨ
リ属サレタル非公式言質ニ基キテ行ハレ來リタリ。
然レドモ一九二一年（大正十年）ノ冬ヨリ、一九二二
年（大正十一年）ニ亘リテ、太平洋ニ利害關係アル
主要列強全部ノ參加セル會議ニ於テ該政策ハ所謂九
ヶ國條約ト云フ具体的ノモノトナリ、且同條約ハ該
政策ノ基礎タルベキ原則ヲ明瞭且正確ナラシメタリ。
該條約ノ第一條ニ於テ中華民國ヲ除ク締約列強ハ次
ノ如ク意見ノ一致ヲ見タリ。

一 中華民國ノ主權、獨立及ビ領土的行政的安全ヲ尊
重スルコト。

二 中華民國方實力アリ且安定セル政府ヲ發達セシム
且維持セシム爲、同國ニ對シ完全且妨グルコト無ニ
機會ヲ與フルコト。

三 中華民國全領土ニ亘リ各國々民ノ商業上産業上ノ
機會均等ノ原則ヲ有致ニ認定シ且維持セシムガ爲ニ
各國ハ盡力スルコト。

四 友好諸國ノ臣民又ハ國民ノ権利ヲ奪フガ如キ管殊
機會ヲ得シ方爲中華民國ニ於ケル諸種ノ狀況ヲ利
用スルコトヲ禁シ、且該諸國ノ安全性ニ有害ナル
行爲ノ獎勵ヲ禁スルコト。
ヲ協定セリ。

斯ニ本邦之發展且成育セラレタル國
際政策ヲ表明スル本條約ハ、一方ニ於テハ全體約者
ニ對シ中華民國內及ビ同國ニ對スル管轄ノ保障セシ
ムコトヲ意圖スルト同時ニ他方ニ於テハ、中華民國ノ
國民ニ對シ、同國民方地地球上ノ諸國民ニ維持セラ
ルルト信セラルル近代文明ノ標準ニ從ヒ、干渉ヲ受
クルコトナク、彼等ノ主權ト獨立トヲ發展セシムベ
キ完全ナル機會ヲ保障セシムコトヲ意圖シタリ。該條
約ノ署名セラレタル當時、中華民國ハ、其ノ政府ノ
專制形態ヨリ最近ノ革命後成立シタル君主的形態ノ政
府ヲ排シ、自治共和國トシテノ自由制度ヲ發達セシ
ムル意圖ヲ有シタルコト、及ビ同國ハ右目的達成ノ

爲經濟上並ニ政治上多年ノ努力ヲ必要トスベキ事ト、
並ニ同國ノ發展ハ必然的ニ過々タルベキコト等ハ了
解済タリシナリ。

斯クノ如クナレバ本條約ハ署名各國ニ於テ、慎重
ニ考慮シ中國ノ發達ヲ妨ケルガ如キ侵略政策ヲ拋棄
スルニ於テハ署名列強國ノ自己否定ノ條約タルモノ
ナリ。而シテ斯カル協定ノ據設ノ下ニ斯カル過程ヲ
經テノミ、中華民國ノ完全ナル利益ノミナラズ、之
ト交渉ヲ有スル諸國家國民ノ全利益が最大ニ與ヘラ
レルモノト信ゼラレタリ。此ノ信念ハ「門戶開放」
政策ニ關スル全テノ歴史ノ明ラカニ證明スル所ナリ。

本條約ヲ大統領ニ報告セル報告書ニ於テ、時ノ國
務長官一チヤールズ。イリ。ヒューズ氏ノ首席タ
リシアメリカ代表團ハ、

「本條約ニ依リ中華民國ニ於ケル「門戶開放」ハ
遂ニ實現セラレタルモノト信ズ。」
ト述べタリ。

本條約ノ締結ニ導キタル討論ノ過程ニ於テ英國代
表團議長一バルフォア卿ハ、
「英帝國代表團ハ、本會議ニ出席シタル列國代表
者中ニハ、一勢力團ニ關スル過去ノ事例ヲ支持
スペキ政府アリト考フル者モ無ク、又本會議ニ對
シ何等カノ異議アリト考フル者モ無キモノト了解
ス。」

英國政府ノ圖スル限り我代表ハ最モ正式ナル方法
ヲ以テ公式ニ該慣例ハ現狀ニ對シ全然不適當ナリ
ト思考スル旨宣言セリ。ト

述ベタリ。

同時ニ日本國代表原勇爵ハ日本政府ノ地位ニ關
シ次ノ如ク述ベタリ。曰ク、
「何人モ中華民國ニ對シ其ノ神聖ナル自治ノ権利
ヲ否定スル者ナシ。何人モ中華民國が自己ノ偉大
ナル國民的運命ヲ完成セントスルニ當り之ヲ妨害
スル者無シ。」ト。

本條約ハ元來合衆國、ベルギー、英帝國、中華民
國、フランス、イタリー、日本、ネザーランド及ビ
ルトガルニヨリ作成セラレタリ。其ノ結果又ノ
ルウェー、ボリビア、スウェーデン、デンマーク及
ビメキシコモ之ニ參加シタリ。ドイツハ之ニ署名セ
ルモ、同國議會ハ未ダ之ニ批准セズ。

更ニ本條約ハ、ワシントン會議ニ於テ相互ニ關
シ且相互ニ依存セル關係列強ニヨリ確定セラレタ
ル諸條約並ニ確定ノ一ナルコトハ言ヲ要セズ。又是
等ノ條約ノ一タリト雖モ之ヲ無視シタル時ハ、完全
無缺ナル一連ノ諸協定ニ依リ完成招來セントシタル
一體均了無妨ニ均衡ヲ陳誓スルニ至ルベシ。ワシン

ノ停止ニヨルノミナラズ世界ノ平和、殊ニ極東ノ平和ヲ脅威セル他ノ各種ノ錯雜セル問題ヲモ解決スルコトニヨリテ世界平和ノ可能性ヲ促進セント意圖セルナリ。是等議問題ハ總て互ニ關聯ヲ有ス。アメリカ政府が進ンテ當時ノ軍艦建造ノ統帥的指導權ヲ拠乗シ且ツグアム及ビフイリツビンニ於ケル陣地ヲ更ニ防備強化セズシテ放棄セルハ、他ノ議事項ト同時ニ、世界諸國民ニ極東貿易ニ對シテ機會均等ヲ與フルノミナラズ、他ノ如何ナル列強モ中華民國ノ犠牲ニ於テ軍艦大ヲ行フコト無キヲ保証セル彼ノ九ヶ國ニ包含セラルル自己否定ノ條項ニ基ケルモノナリ。九ヶ國條約ノ該條項ヲ修正又ハ廢止シ得ルヤ否ヤヲ議論セントセバ、同時ニ長等ノ諸條項ガ事實上依存セル他ノ約定ヲ考慮セザルヲ得ズ。

九ヶ國條約ガソノ根本トセル、列強ニヨル弱小國侵略ヲ禁ズル自己否定ノ政策ハ六年後ニ、パリ1條約竝ニ所謂「ケロッグ・ブリアン」條約ヲ世界ノ全國民ガ質質的ニ履行シタル結果、強力ニ再強化セラレタリ。右兩條約ハ、世界ノ良心ト輿論トヲ一線ニ列ベシガ爲事斷的暴力ヲ排シ、正義ト平和トノ方法ニヨリ凡ユル和平ノ解決ヲ包含スル諸國民ノ法ニ依リ秩序的發展ニ臻一アル繼續ヲ齎ラサンガ爲ニ採ラルル獨立的ニシテ而モ調和的ナル措置ヲ表ハシ居ル

ナリ。中華民國ヲ外語ヨリノ危機ヨリ防衛セントス
ル言葉ハ孰ナルか其ノ本質的語分ヲアス。九ヶ國領
海ノ七名國ト支那國トハ、中華民國ニ尼在セル四億
民衆ノ秩序アル平穏的改良ハ、全世界ノ平穏的幸福
ノ爲ニ必其大ルコト、茲ニ全世界的平和ノ如何ナ
ル言葉モ中華民國ノ平和ト長治トヲ尊臨スルコト能
ハザルコトヲ眞ジ知ルナリ。

中華民國ニ通レル諸君ノ事務、渠ニ世界國ニ於テ
長治セラレタル事等ハ近頃上海ニ甚大シ、吾々ノ口
説シ不リタル候事ニ何氣カノ修正ヲ加フル協助書シ
タル限度ヲ越エタルモノニシテ、極東ニ於會長領ヲ
有スル凡ユル國民ニ斯シ、其ノ本領ヲ忠實ニ履行ス
ルコトガ實ニ重要ナルコトヲ體識セシムル結果トナ
リタリ。是ト連絡セシメテ、不善其ノ事等ニ通加シ
タル瓦國民尚ニソノ事ヲ當テンガ爲、ソノ結果或
ハ言葉ノ原因ヲ深求スルコトハ不必其ナリ。何トナ
レバ、瓦國或ハ實在ニ口食ナク事態ハ、既ニ是等ニ
飯糰ノ修項ニ規定セラレタル事由ト安國シ得ザルマ
テニ被居セルコト。茲ニ著シ該飯糰ニシテ忠實ニ通
守セラレタランニハ、其カル事態ハ發生シ不ザリシ
ナランコトハ其ナク既にナレバナリ。該飯糰ニシテ
セザル九ヶ國領海及ビーケロツグトブリアンニ飯糰
ノ七名國ハ之等飯糰ノ飯支ヲ修正スベキ何等ノ理由

ヲモニメザルガ如シ。公等ニトリテハ該領ノ島民
ナル尾行方員ニ公使アルコトナルハ、彼等ノ國人ガ
上海ニ於テ安ケタル仓库下云失トニヨリ窃ニシジ
タルトコロナリ。

尾レ本政府ノ風解ナリ。吾人ハ本領ノ異現セラ
レタル文略的風解ヲ記スル理由ヲ記メズ。吾人ハ
若シ是を領海ニシテ島民ニ同行セラレタランニハ、
本島上ハ遙々行ラレシコト並ニ該領海ニ屬從スルコ
トガ、該領海ノ右名國海ニソノ國民ノ中華民國ニ於
ケル合法的行政ノ事切ナル事件ノ妨害タルベキ何等
ノ監禁モ無キモノト信ズ。

降年一月七日附大誠信ノ眞書ニ於テ、本政府ハ日
本及ビ中華民國ニ對シ、本政府ハ、是等ノ領海ニ悖
リタル日清兩政府間ノ事變、該將軍ハ民衆等ニシテ、
中華民國ニ於ケル本政府並ニ我國民ノ中華民國内ニ
有スル行動ニ對シヲ禁フルモノハ如何ナルモノト諭
モ之ヲ是諭スルコトヲ公サル旨日本及ビ中華民國ニ
通告セリ。若シ世界ノ間ノ政府ニシテ國權ノ侵害ニ
至シシ國權ノ立場ヲ誤リタランニハ、上述ノ如キ行
為ニ通告ヲ禁フルコトニナルベク、且廣國事ハ公相
事體ニヨリ今後過失セラルル如何ナル名分立ハ不利益
ニ致スル正當理由モ極めてニ諭惑シ且、過去ニ於ケ
ル歴史ノ示セル如ク、古今中華民國ニ對シ其ノ事ハ

219P(14)-10

レントセシ名分ト信利トヲ回復スルニ至ルモノト信ズ。

趣意ニ於テ武ガ政府ハ太平洋ニ於ケル指導國ノ一トシテ、歐銀ヲ中華民國ノ民衆ノ將來ニ對スル不義ノ信義ニ在キ、又銀券ニ關シ公平、忍耐、及ビ相互的奸意ノ原駄ノ究極的反動ニ當キタリ。吾人ハ國ヨリ民國及ビ民國政府ノ發展ニ關シ、同國ノ政治家ノ首ニ横タハル任事ノ廣大ナルコトヲ知ル。其ノ進歩ノ過程、既往政府經濟ノ企圖ノ動搖ハ「ハイ」「ヒューズ」及ビ其ノ同僚ノ諱氏ニヨリ顯露セラレ、且ハ「門戶國論」上政治ノ進ケ得ラレザリシ厚在タリシナリ。吾人ハ、中華民國が其ノ發展ヲ完成センニハ必要ナル時ヲ待ツ信利アルコトヲ決議セルワシントン會議ニ列席シタル全國民代表タル政治家連下意見ヲ同ジクス。吾等ハ之ヲ以テ駄目ニ對スル我國ノ歐銀トナサントスルモノナリ。

電　　具

(二四) ヘンリイ。エル。スチムソン

ニ上述ノ全文ヲ附帶ニシテ之ヲ東京ヘ輸送シ行骨セヨ。

ハチムソン

對外關係第一輯　八三一八七頁

Br. Ex. 30

TELEGRAM

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE MINISTER IN
SWITZERLAND (WILSON)

Excerpt.

Washington, February 25, 1933--6 p.m.

78. Your 125, February 24, 7 p.m. Communicate to Drummond (Secretary General of the League) as a letter from me under today's date the following:

*There has been communicated to me the text of your letter of February 24, 1933, transmitting to me a copy of the report of the Committee of Nineteen as adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations on this day.

I note your request that I communicate to you as soon as possible the reply of the Government of the United States.

In response to that request I have the honor to state the views of the American Government as follows:

In the situation which has developed out of the controversy between China and Japan, the purpose of the United States has coincided in general with that of the League of Nations, the common objective being maintenance of peace and settlement of international disputes by pacific means. In pursuance of that objective, while the League of Nations has been exercising jurisdiction over a controversy between two of its members, the Government of the United States has endeavored to give support, reserving to itself independence of judgment with regard to method and scope, to the efforts of the League on behalf of peace.

The findings of fact arrived at by the League and the understanding of the facts derived by the American Government from reports made to it by its own representatives are in substantial accord. In the light of its findings of fact, the Assembly of the League has formulated a measured statement of conclusions. With those conclusions the American Government is in general accord. In their affirmations respectively of the principle of non-recognition and their attitude in regard thereto the League and the United States are on common ground. The League has recommended principles of settlement. In so far as appropriate under the treaties to which it is a party, the American Government expresses its general endorsement of the principles thus recommended.

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STIMSON

Foreign Relations I, pp. 115-116.

Br.
L. 30

電文

WILSON

國務長官ヨリモニ駐公使 ウキルソン氏へ

該
件

ワシントンニテ

一九三三年（昭和八年）二月二十五日午後六時

七八二月二十四日午後七時後官邸一二五號。

本日附ニテ小官發ノ電傳トシテ下記ノ如クドラモ
ンド氏 DRUMMOND (新嘉坡總領事) 完消告
セラレ候

「國際連盟總會ニヨリ深謀セラレタル十九ヶ國委
員會報告書一部ト共ニ一九三三年二月二十四日附
ノ演説本日拜受仕候

合衆國政府ノ圖書ヲ可及的承認ニ附署アリタキ旨
ノ御要請ハ小官ニ於テ了承仕候

右御要請ニ應シ米國政府ノ見解ヲ左記ノ如ク御審
察申上候

日支間ノ紛爭ニヨリ屢屢セル扇画ニ關シ合衆國
ノ企圖スル處ハ固ニ國際連盟ノ企圖ト合致ス。
即チ兩者共通ノ目標ハ平和ノ維持及ビ平和的手段

歐ニ依ル國際間ノ紛争解決ニアリ。

此日露連戦ノ尾メ國際聯盟方面會議タル兩國間ノ紛争ニ對シ國民體ヲ行使スル一万余於テ、合衆國政府ハ万法ト範圍ニシテ似旨ノ制約ヲ督係スル連合ノ下ニ平和ノノメノ聯盟ノ努力ニ對シテ反対ヲ與フルニ當カナラザリシ所ナリ。

聯盟方面下セル諸事実ノ鑑定ト米國政府ガソノ代表者ノ報告ヲ通ジテ得タル諸事實ニ對スル認識トハ根本ニ於テ合致ス。

諸事實ニ對スル目カラノ鑑定ニ添キ聯盟議會ハ活子ノ活子ニツキ適正妥當ナル聲明書ヲ作製セリ。是等活子ト米國政府ハ未見得ラニス。不承認原則ノ肯定ト同原則ニ附スル程度ニ於テハ聯盟ト合衆國トハ共通ノ立場ナリ。

聯盟ハ所處策ニ活子ノ原則ヲ遵行セリ。米國政府ハ聯盟ノ一員タル諸國ノ制約下妥當ナル張りニ於テ連合セラレタル右原則ニ對シ全面的同意ヲ表ス。」

.....

スチムソントリムソウ

（外事）一
一一五、一一六頁

Doc. No. 219P (15)

Br. Ex. 34 THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE

No. 1052

TOKYO, November 14, 1934
(Received December 1.)

Excerpt.

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While it may be argued that the Japanese Government never specifically guaranteed the maintenance of the principles of the open door and equal opportunity in Manchuria after the government of "Manchukuo" was organized, the Japanese recognition and endorsement of the new regime was largely predicated upon the maintenance of those policies, as is evidenced by the speech of Count UCHIDA, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, before the Diet on August 25, 1932, and the Japanese Government's public statement of September 15, 1932, issued on the occasion of the recognition of "Manchukuo", which reads in part as follows:

"As regards the economic activities of foreigners, the Manchukuo Government made clear in their communication of March 10 above alluded to that they would observe the principle of the Open Door. What Japan desires in Manchuria is to do away with all anti-foreign policies there so that the region may become a safe place of abode for natives and foreigners alike, while, at the same time, guaranteeing her legitimate rights and interests there; and therefore, it is hardly necessary to repeat the assurance that Japan sincerely hopes that all the peoples of the world will pursue their economic activities in Manchuria on a footing of equal opportunity and will thereby contribute to the development and prosperity of that region."

The Protocol between Japan and "Manchukuo" of September 15, 1932, itself is predicated upon the observance by "Manchukuo" of international obligations applying to that territory, as is shown by the second paragraph of the preamble of the Protocol:

"Whereas Manchukuo has declared its intention of abiding by all international engagements entered into by China in so far as they are applicable to Manchukuo."

It is difficult to see how the Japanese Government can ignore these definite declarations, but that it has done so is not only shown by the excerpt quoted above, etc.

Foreign Relations I, p. 135 at
137.

Ex 934

3-64-34

逕日大臣（グル）／G. R. M. / 美國特長官宛

第一〇五二號 東京、一九三四年／昭和九年／十一月十四日
(十二月一日受領)

按 稿

「滿洲國」政府成立後、日本政府ハ滿洲ニ於ケル門戸解放及ビ機會均等ノ原則維持ヲ特ニ保證セザリシ事實ヘ一應主張シ得ル所ナルベキモノ日本方此ノ新政權ヲ承認セルハ滿洲之等原則ノ維持ニ基ケル所ニシテ、此ノ點ハ一九三二年ノ昭和七年／八月二十五日議會ニ於ケル當時ノ外相内田伯ノ演説及ビ、一九三二年／昭和七年／九月十五日、「滿洲國」承認ノ際發セラレタル日本政府一聲聲明ニ據スルモ瞭カナル處ナリ右聲明ノ一節ハ次ノ如シ。

「外國人ノ經濟的活動ニ關シテハ滿洲國政府ハ、既述三月十日附通牒ニ於テ、門戸解放ノ原則ヲ遵守スベニ旨ヲ瞭カニセリ。」
日本ノ滿洲國ニ於テ欲スル所ハ、同國ノ正當ナル權益ヲ保證スルト同時に、該ユル排外政策ヲ

繁榮セシム以テ同地域ヲシテ、内小人ノ情シク
安居樂業ノ地タシシメントスルニアリ。
右ノ故ニ世界ニ於ケル総ユル國民ガ滿洲ニ於テ
機會均等ノ基礎ニ立脚シソノ經濟的活動ニ從事
シ、以テ同地域ノ發展、繁榮ニ寄與セソ事ヲ、
日本ガ真心ヨリ希望スル旨改メテ確言スルノ裏
無カルベシ。一一九三二年ノ昭和七年ノ九月十
五日附日本「滿洲國」開設定憲ソレ自体、滿洲
國ノ同地域ニ適用サレタル國際間ノ義務ノ遵守
ニ基クモノタルコトハ右憲定憲前文第二段ニ示
サル、通りナリ。即チ

「滿洲國ヘ、中華民國ニ依リ締結セラレタル
國際間ノ約定ハ總テ其ガ滿洲國ニ適用サル、限
リ之ヲ遵守スル意志アル事ヲ宣言セルガ故ニ」
トアリ。

日本政府ガ果シテ如何ニシテ之等確乎タル宣
言ヲ無視シタルヤ理解スルハ困難ナリ、然カモ
同政府ガ今日迄斯ク爲シ來レル事ハ帝宮ニ上ニ引
用セル鐵幕ニ依リ明カナルノミナラズ、云々。

外交關係工、一三五頁及一三七頁

UNOFFICIAL STATEMENT BY THE JAPANESE FOREIGN OFFICE,
April 17, 1934

The following is an English translation unofficially issued by the Japanese Foreign Office of the unofficial statement issued by the Foreign Office on April 17, 1934, known as the "Amau Statement":

Owing to the special position of Japan in her relations with China, her views and attitude respecting matters that concern China, may not agree in every point with those of foreign nations; but it must be realized that Japan is called upon to exert the utmost effort in carrying out her mission and in fulfilling her special responsibilities in East Asia.

Japan has been compelled to withdraw from the League of Nations because of their failure to agree in their opinions on the fundamental principles of preserving peace in East Asia. Although Japan's attitude toward China may at times differ from that of foreign countries, such difference cannot be evaded, owing to Japan's position and mission.

It goes without saying that Japan at all times is endeavoring to maintain and promote her friendly relations with foreign nations, but at the same time we consider it only natural that, to keep peace and order in East Asia, we must even act alone on our own responsibility and it is our duty to perform it. At the same time, there is no country but China which is in a position to share with Japan the responsibility for the maintenance of peace in East Asia. Accordingly, unification of China, preservation of her territorial integrity, as well as restoration of order in that country, are most ardently desired by Japan. History shows that these can be attained through no other means than the awakening and the voluntary efforts of China herself. We oppose therefore any attempt on the part of China to avail herself of the influence of any other country in order to resist Japan. We also oppose any action taken by China, calculated to play one power against another. Any joint operations undertaken by foreign powers even in the name of technical or financial assistance at this particular moment after the Manchurian and Shanghai Incidents are bound to acquire political significance. Undertakings of such nature, if carried through to the end, must give rise to complications that might eventually necessitate discussion of problems like fixing spheres of influence or even international control or division of China, which would be the greatest possible misfortune for China and at the same time would have the most serious repercussion upon Japan and East Asia. Japan therefore must object to such undertakings as a matter of principle, although she will not find it necessary to interfere with any foreign country negotiating individually with China on questions of finance or trade, as long as such negotiations

Br. Ex. 41

benefit China and are not detrimental to the maintenance of peace in East Asia.

However, supplying China with war planes, building aerodromes in China and detailing military instructors or military advisers to China or contracting a loan to provide funds for political uses, would obviously tend to alienate the friendly relations between Japan and China and other countries and to disturb peace and order in East Asia. Japan will oppose such projects.

The foregoing attitude of Japan should be clear from the policies she has pursued in the past. But, on account of the fact that positive movements for joint action in China by foreign powers under one pretext or another are reported to be on foot, it is deemed not inappropriate to reiterate her policy at this time.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 224-225

№1

935
Moc 2/9 P(22)

日本外務省、非公式聲明 一九三四年四月十七日
次、文、天羽辟朋トシテ知ラシタルモノニシテ一九三四年四月十七日
日本外務省より発セラシ、非公式聲明、日本外務省依リ、非公式
英譯文ナリ
題支那ニ關スニ日本、特殊地位ニ依リ支那問題
日本、見解及態度、凡ル矣、於列國
ト日本、東亞ニ於テ其、使命、又特別委員ヲ
署スベ、極力努力カラシラレバ、アリコトハ認
日本、東亞ニ於ケル和平維持、根本義付
國際聯盟、意見一致セサルアルヲ以テ國際聯
盟ヲ脱退ル、余儀ナキ至リタリ
日本、對支那態度、列國、シト屢々異た所
天大、如キ差異、日本、地位及ヒ傳命ニ依
能ヒ得ザルモ、ナリ
日本、常ニ列國ト友好關係ヲ保持、准スベ
東亞、和平及秩序維持、爲我自身、責
任ニ於テ單獨行動ルハ當然、コト、考ヘラル
而シテ之ヲ遂行スルハ我々、責務ナリ。
同時ニ東亞ニ於ケル和平、維持ニ付日本、其
ニ責務分ケル地位ニ、列國、支那ヲオイテ、他ニ
非バ。從フテ支那、統一領土、保全及支那ニ於
秩序、恢復ハ日本、日本モ切望入ル所ナリ。

ノ. 2

之等、達成、支那自身、自覺的並、自發的
力、待つ他、歴史、微々、光明、カリ、故、支
那ニテ他國、勢力、利用シ日本ヲ排斥スル
事、其擧出、吾人、反對、所ナリ。
又支那ニテ東、以テ東、制スベ、劃スル
置、反對スル所ナリ。滿洲事變、上海事變後、
叶、特殊時期、於テ引國側、於テナガ、
助、工作、假令、名目、技術的或、財政的、
ニセコ、政治的意味、帶、至化、必然ナリ。
招、遂、支那ニ於ケル勢力範圍、設定或
國際管理、分割等、問題、論議、支那、
支那、非、不辛、旅、不辛、旅、
日本及東亞、之、モ、根本問題、下、重、
反、日、旅、モナリ、日本、原則、
カ、見解、キ、アルが然リト雖、各國、
支那、對、個別、經濟、貿易問題、文、步、
支、此、如、支那、支那、東亞、平
和、維持、支障、及、ボサル限リ之干涉、
要、要、謂、父。

Nov 219 P(22)

之等、達成、支那自身、自覺的並、自發的
力、待つ他、歴史、微々、光明、カリ、故、支
那ニテ他國、勢力、利用シ日本ヲ排斥スル
事、其擧出、吾人、反對、所ナリ。
又支那ニテ東、以テ東、制スベ、劃スル
置、反對スル所ナリ。滿洲事變、上海事變後、
叶、特殊時期、於テ引國側、於テナガ、
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招、遂、支那ニ於ケル勢力範圍、設定或
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支那、非、不辛、旅、不辛、旅、
日本及東亞、之、モ、根本問題、下、重、
反、日、旅、モナリ、日本、原則、
カ、見解、キ、アルが然リト雖、各國、
支那、對、個別、經濟、貿易問題、文、步、
支、此、如、支那、支那、東亞、平
和、維持、支障、及、ボサル限リ之干涉、
要、要、謂、父。

Doc 2/9 P(22)

前述、日本、態度、往來、針ヨリ演繹セテ
動作等、名儀ニテ積極進ム、形跡アルヲ報
不適當ナズト信ハタリ。然レモ諸外國、支那等之勢力
ハキテ日本、方針ヲ兩言スル天

外文關係
二四頁—二五頁

1/03

Ex936

Mr. G. M. G.

TELEGRAM
THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) TO THE SECRETARY
OF STATE

(Paraphrase)

Excerpt.

TOKYO, April 25, 1934 -- 1 p.m.
(Received April 25--9:55 a.m.)

75. This morning I had an interview with the Foreign Minister. Mr. Hirota referred, on his own initiative, to the subject of the Amau statement regarding the attitude of Japan toward foreign assistance to China, and said that he wished to clarify that statement to be in confidence. He told me that under questioning by newspaper men, Amau had given out the statement without his knowledge or approval, and that the world had received a wholly false impression of Japanese policy, that Japan had no intention whatever of seeking special privileges in China, of encroaching upon the territorial and administrative integrity of China, or of creating difficulties for the bona fide trade of other countries with China. Various foreign activities have tended to disturb peaceful conditions in China, and Japan is naturally very much interested in those peaceful conditions owing to her nearness to China. But that does not mean that there is any intention or desire on the part of Japan to claim a privileged position in derogation of the rights and responsibilities to which the signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty are entitled. The policy of Japan is complete observance and support of the provisions of the Nine-Power Treaty in every respect.

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Foreign Relations I, p. 227

En 936
Dec 21910 (23)

日本駐劄公使 (Green) 大使館長官電報

抄錄

東京 一九三四年/昭和九年/四月二十五日午後一時三十分前九時五分電

七五、今朝本使、外務大臣と會見せ。廣田久、自ラ發意テ外國、中國、國務助三對之日本、態度三閣天羽吉朗、問題=言及シ、ソ、
声明ヲ本使ニ内定=明カニタキ旨申入タ。

彼、天羽が新聞記者、質問三答へテ彼ニ通告モセバ又承認モ
矣トテ声明ヲ發表シ日本が中國=特殊、權益ヲ有、中國
領土的並=行政的保全ヲ侵害シ若ク、中國ト他國ト、善
意、貿易=困難ヲ蒙スガ如意志、全然無日本、政
策=就全世界全面的誤ル、印象ヲ及テ日本使
語。各國活動、中國=於此平和狀態ヲ乱す傾向ガ乃ク。
而カモ日本ハ中國ニ近接シテ本國保上、平和狀態ハ當然の大
開心ヲ持テキ。乍然夫、九ヶ國條約調印國が附與サシテ
本國権利義務、毀損ラズ特權的地位ヲ主張スコト日本が
意圖シ又、希望シテ本ヒトノ意味ハナシ。日本政策ハ
凡て是=於テ九ヶ國條約、條約、條項、完全に遵守奉行。

外交關係第一冊 = 七頁

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE
(WASHINGTON) May 19, 1934.

The Japanese Ambassador called and promptly drew out an elaborate telegram which he said was from Foreign Minister Hirota in Tokyo to him. He first remarked that Hirota desired to extend his appreciation of the friendly spirit in which I sent the statement to him on April 28, 1934, and which was delivered by United States Ambassador Grew. He added that Ambassador Grew had stated to Minister Hirota at the time that the United States Government did not expect any reply. The Japanese Ambassador then proceeded practically to read the telegram, although appearing more or less to be speaking orally. He retained the telegram which was in his language. At its conclusion, I inquired if it was virtually a restatement of the statement during the latter part of April of his Government to Sir John Simon in the London Foreign Office. He replied that it was. I then stated that I had kept perfectly quiet while Japanese officials all the way from Tokyo to Geneva on April 17th, and for many days following, were reported as giving out to the press the views and policies of the Japanese Government touching certain international phases relating to the Orient; that at the conclusion of these different statements I felt, in order not to be misunderstood here or anywhere, that I should in a respectful and friendly spirit, offer a succinct but comprehensive restatement of rights, interests, and obligations as they related to my country primarily and as they related to all countries signatory to the Nine-Power Treaty, the Kellogg Pact, and international law as the same applied to the Orient.

I then inquired whether the Japanese Government differed with any of the fundamental phases of the statement I sent to the Japanese Foreign Minister on the 28th day of April, 1934? The Ambassador replied that it did not differ, that his Government did agree to the fundamentals of my note or statement, but that his Government did feel that it had a special interest in preserving peace and order in China. He then repeated the same formula that his government had been putting out for some weeks about the superior duty or function of his government to preserve peace and of its special interest in the peace situation in--to quote his words--"Eastern Asia". I remarked that, as Hirota

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wrote me, I saw no reason whatever why our two countries should not, in the most friendly and satisfactory way to each, solve every question or condition that existed now or that might arise in the future. I then said that, in my opinion, his country could conduct its affairs in such a way that it would live by itself during the coming generations, or that it might conduct its affairs even more profitably and at the same time retain the perfect understanding and the friendship of all civilized nations in particular that my hope and prayer was that all the civilized nations of the world, including Japan, should work together and in a perfectly friendly and understanding way so as to promote to the fullest extent the welfare of their respective peoples and at the same time meet their duties to civilization and to the more backward populations of the world and that my Government would always be ready and desirous of meeting his Government fully half-way in pursuing these latter objectives.

I then remarked that I would be entirely frank by saying that just now there was considerable inquiry everywhere as to just why his government singled out the clause or formula about Japan's claiming superior and special interests in the peace situation in "Eastern Asia" and her superior rights or duties in connection with the preservation of peace there; and that many were wondering whether this phrase or formula had ulterior or ultimate implications partaking of the nature of an overlordship of the Orient or a definite purpose to secure preferential trade rights as rapidly as possible in the Orient or "Eastern Asia"--to use the Japanese expression. The Ambassador commenced protesting that this was not the meaning contemplated or intended. I said it would be much simpler and easier if when the national of any other government engaged in some act in the Orient which Japan might reasonably feel would affect her unsatisfactorily, to bring up the individual circumstance to the proper government, instead of issuing a blanket formula which would cause nations everywhere to inquire or surmise whether it did not contemplate an overlordship of the Orient and an attempt at trade preferences as soon as possible. The Ambassador again said that this so-called formula about the superior interests of Japan in preserving peace, etc., did not contemplate the interference or domination or overlordship such as I had referred to.

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I stated that today there was universal talk and plans about armaments on a steadily increasing scale and that Japan and Germany were the two countries considered chiefly responsible for that talk: that, of course, if the world understood the absence of any overlordship intentions or other unwarranted interference by his government, as the Ambassador stated them to me, his country would not be the occasion for armament discussion in so many parts of the world; and that this illustrated what I had said at the beginning of our conversation that nations should make it a special point to understand each other, and the statesmen of each country should be ready at all times to correct or explain any trouble-making rumors or irresponsible or inaccurate statements calculated to breed distrust and misunderstanding and lukewarmness between nations. I went on to say that it was never so important for the few existing civilized countries of the world to work whole-heartedly together; and that this action of course would, more fully than any other, promote the welfare of the people of each and also would best preserve civilization. I emphasized again that it would be the height of folly for any of the civilized nations to pursue any line of utterances of professed policies that would engender a feeling of unfairness or treaty violation or other unsatisfactory reaction in the important nations who might have both rights and obligations in a given part of the world such as the Orient. I said that in this awful crisis through which the world was passing, debtors everywhere were not keeping faith with creditors in many instances; that sanctity of treaties, in Western Europe especially, was being ignored and violated; that this was peculiarly a time when our civilized countries should be especially vigilant to observe and preserve both legal and moral obligations; and that my country especially felt that way, not only on its own account but for the sake of preserving the better and the higher standards of both individual and national conduct everywhere.

I remarked that my Government, apart from its general treaty obligations, was only interested in the equality of trade rights in the Orient as in every part of the world and also its obligations and rights under the law of nations; that what little trade we had in the Orient we naturally desired to conduct on this basis of

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equality, even though it might be less in the future than now. Then I remarked that if these treaties which imposed special obligations on my government in the Orient were not in existence that, while interested in peace in all parts of the world, my government would also be interested in equality of trade rights.

I inquired whether his government had any disposition to denounce and get rid of these treaties in whole or in part, and said that to ignore or violate them would be embarrassing to my government, and that this would relieve it of any possibilities of such embarrassment. I said that I was not remotely suggesting in the matter. He replied that his government was not disposed to denounce and abrogate these treaties. He said that they felt obliged to get out of the League of Nations on account of certain considerations which their membership created. I then inquired of him whether his government abandoned membership on account of difficulties arising from the fact that Japan was a member of the League or whether it was due to Japan being a signatory to the Versailles Treaty. I did not get a complete answer to this.

The Ambassador then stated that in any preliminary naval conversations that might soon take place, his government would be opposed to discussing any Far Eastern political or similar questions or conditions and that only the purely naval side should be taken up. He said that political and all other phases of the subject were discussed at the Washington Conference and his government was opposed to a repetition of this. I offered no comment.

C(ORDELL) H(ULL)

Foreign Relations I, pp.233-236

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國務長官手記

昭和九年(一九三四年)五月十九日(月二十一)

日本大使公訪内閣大臣丹念三綴ラヒタル電報ヲ取次セリ。
大使、言ヨリバ在東京廣田外務大臣ヨリ大使宛ニ送ラシ
モ、ナリ。大使ハ最初ニ廣田氏ハ昭和九年(一九三四年)四月
二十八日余が氏ニ送リ且ケル。甲斐田ミ大使ニヨリテ手交サ
レタル聲明中、友交精神ニ對シ彼、謝意ヲ傳達スル様
希望スル旨申述べタリ。彼ハ又其時ケル。甲斐田ミ
大使ハ廣田外相ニ對ニ倉庫國何等、回答ヲモ
豫期セス。申述べタル旨附加ヘタリ。次イテ日本大使
ハ事實ニ、電報ヲ讀上ケタリ。幾分口頭ニシテ詰カク
ル如キ態度、所モアリタリ。彼が手ニシテ電
報ハ日本文ニテ認メラリタリ。ソレ、終リシトキ余
ハソレハ事實上四月、後半ニコソニ外務省、シヨン
サイモン卿ハ日本政府、聲明、再聲明ナラズヤト尋
ネシトコロ彼ハ然リト答ヘタリ。
其時余ハ四月十七日及其後相當長時日ニ亘リ、日本
官吏が東京ヨリニシナハ、途次ニ於テ東洋ニ關係セ
ル或國際問題ニ觸レ日本政府、見解及政策ニ關ニ新聞
發表ヲ行ヒ、アリト、報道セラシトキ余ハ完全ニ沉默
守リ居リコト。又此等種々、聲明、結果、余ハ当地以
何ヒ、場所ニ於テモ誤解ヲ招カサランがタク、尊敏及友
交、精神ヲ以テ先ツ吾國ニ關係ヲ有シ且九ヶ國條約、
ケロケル。而「GG」條約、調印國、總干ニ澳聯スル而
シテ東洋ニ適用サル、場合國際法ニ澳聯ヲ有スル諸權利。

權益、及義務、開示、簡潔、ミテニカモ包括的十九再聲明
ヲ發表ベキナリト思、旨語。

次、余ハ日本政府ハ、昭和九年、一九三四年四月二十八日？

余ハ日本外務大臣ニ送、之聲明中、若干基本的問題
、或モノ、ニ關し意見ヲ異ニスルヤア尋ねタリ。大使ハ之
就テ日本政府ハ見解ヲ異ニスルモノアラズ、又日本政府

ハ余、鶴見書或ヒハ聲明中、基本事項ニ關シハ見解ヲ
同シテスルモノ、之テニカモ政府ハ支那ニ於ケル和平和
秩序、維持ニ特別、關心ヲ有スルコトヲ感シ居ル旨答ヘタ

リ。次、彼ハ和平和維持上、日本政府、優越的任務或
使命ニ付更ニ一報、言ヲ援用スル、東亜ニ於ケル

和平狀態ニ對スル日本政府、特別、關心ニシキ數週間
亘、日本政府が聲明ニ未シ所ト同様、公式ヲ反復
セリ。余ハ廣田氏が余ニ書送、之如ク、吾々兩國が現存

在セル或ハ將來ニ起ルモ知レアラユル問題或ハ事態ヲ互ニ
最も友好的且満足ナル方法ニテ解決シ能ハル理由ハ何等
存在セバト思、旨語。

更ニ余ハ余、見解ト之ヲ貴國ハ未來ベキ時代カラ通じ自力ヨリ生活シ得ルが如キ方
法ニテ自己、諸問題、處理シ得ベキ事否、寧日本、

自己、問題ヲバ一層有利ニ處理シ得ル、ミナラズ、同時
ニ就中スベテ、文明國家、完全ナル了解ト友誼ヲ

享シ受シ得ヘント語リタリ。余、希望ニ且祈念スルハ
日本ヲ含ム世界、アラユル文明國家が各々自國民、

福祉ヲ最高度ニ向ニセシメ且同時ニ文明ニ對シ將至
界、後進諸國民ニ對スル彼等、義務ヲ果スル、完全

ナル友交及ビ了解、下ニ共勵スベキ事ニテ而モ吾政府、

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將ニ半カハ此等後者、諸目標ヲ進本スル上ニ於テ常ニ日本政府、意図ヲ充スベシ用意アリ且斯クスル事ニ云ナラモナリト告ケタリ。

次ニ余ハ「東亞」ニ於ケル平和狀態ニ於テ優越ニテ特殊ニテ權利ヲ而ニテ同地域ニ於ケル平和維持ニ關聯ニ日本優越的權利乃至義務ヲ日本が要本スル事ニ就テ何故日本政府ハ斯カル條項或ハ公式ヲ引きセシヤ此矣ニ付即今至ル處深諳ナリ質問が極ケラレ居ル事而モ斯様ナリ辭句或ハ公式が東洋、至上支配權、性質ヲ包藏スル暗示的或ニハ究局的意義ヲ有スルモ、カ或ハ東洋ニ於テ日本側、表現ヲ用ヒバ「東亞」ニ於テ能フ限ニ急速ニ優先的通商權ヲ確保スルノ、確タル目的ヲ有スルモ、ナハニ付疑問ヲ擰ムモ、尠カラザル趣ヲ全ク平直ニ申述ベタキ所存ナリト語シ。

大使ハ此ハ企圖セラレタル或ハ希求セラレタル意味ハアラバト反駁ニ始メタリ。余ハコニ或ル他國政府ニ属スル國民が東洋ニ於テ日本が當然日本ニ不利ナル影響ヲ與ベシト考フル行為ヲ採ル場合、至ル處諸國家ヲニ日本政府が東洋ニ於ケル至上霸權ヲ坦ニ且能フ限ニ速ニ通商上、優先權ヲ掌握セラレ企図セニアラズヤト、疑問乃至推測ヲ抱クニ至ラムルが如キ單一、包摶的ナル公式ヲ發スル代リニ個々、問題ヲ當該政府ニ對ニテ提起スルコトが一層簡單ニシテ而モ容易ナルベシト語シ、同大使ハ重テ平和維持上、日本、優越的權利甚だ就キ、此所謂公式ナルモハ余が言及セシ如キ干渉、支配或ハ至上支配權ヲ企図スルモ、非ズト言明セリ。

余ハ今日益々大規模トランストルル軍備ニ拘シテ、諭議を行ハシ且斯カル計畫、存スルヲ看ル所ナルガ日本及独逸スカル諭議ニ主トニテ實聯ニ居ルモノト看ルルニ國ナルコト、又勿論若シ世界ガ一一大使が余ニ語レル如ク日本政府ニ於テ至上支配權ニ対スル何等、意圖ナフ又日本政府ニヨル不當ナル干渉が存在セサルコトヲ了解スルニ至ラバ實國々世界、大部分ニ於テ行ハシ居ル軍備ニ拘スル諭議ニ於テ対象トナル事ナリベク、而モ此ハ吾々之會議、當初ニ余ニ語リ之所、諸國家ハ相互ニ理解ニ合、コトニ特ニ意ヲ用バキコト、又各國ノ政治家ハイツレモ常ニ國家間、不信誤解、不明確ナル態度ヲ釀シテス、様考案セシタル問題ヲ起ス如キ流言、或ハ無責任或ハ不正確ナル聲明ヲ修正ニ又ハ説明ニ得ル様心樹クベキナリト、題旨ヲ示スモ、ナリト語リタリ。余ハ更ニ諸國ニ世界ニ於テ現少數、文明諸國ニトニ亘ニ誠意ヲ盡シテ共働スルニ要今日程重要ナルコト未だ嘗テナカリニ所ニテヨリモ斯カル行動ハ勿論也、如何ナル行動ヨリモ各國民、福祉ヲ能ク増進ニ且文明、最善維持ヲ期シ得ベト語リ。更ニ余ハ如何ナル文明諸國ニトニモ、世界、イツレカ、地域例ハ東洋ニ於テ權利並ニ義務ヲ有スル考ヘラニル重要ナル國民、固ニ不公正或ニハ條約、侵犯其他好ニカラザル反應ヲ若起セシムガ如キ言葉或ニ表面上、政策ヲハ詐索スルコトノ愚、骨頂ナルヲ強調セリ。余ハ世界を直面シ、アヒスカル重大ナル危機ニ於テ債務者が債権者ニ對ニ約束ヲ履行セサル場合多々アリ事、條約、神

聖カ特ニ西部ヨーロッパ=於テ無視サレ且侵犯サレツ、ア此事、今ハ吾々文明諸國家が法的並ニ道德的義務^ヲ遵守^シ且ニ、維持スルニ特ニ細心ナルベク且又、就中吾國ハ自己自身^ヲ為^スミテ大至九處^ニ於テ個人及ニ國家兩者^ノ行動ヨリ良キヨリ高貴ナル規範^ヲ維持セムカノメス、ハ感スルモナリト告テクリ。

余ハ吾政府ハ其一般的十九條約^ヲ、義務^ヲ措キ于ハ全世界各地^ニ於テ同様東洋^ニ於テ^ニ通商^ヲ、權利^ヲ、平等^ヲ而^ニテ^ニ入各國^ノ法律^ヲ、下ニ於テ吾國^ノ義務^ヲ及^ニ權利^ヲ、^ニ開心^ヲ有スルモナルコト、五國本東洋^ニ於テ保持セシ通商^ヲ如^ク何ニ僅少ナルモナリトハヘ、又假令將來^ニ現在ヨリ尚僅少ナラケヤモハカラレバトハヘ吾人^ハ當然此平等^ヲ、根底^ニ基キテ行動セムコトヲ欲スルモナリト語^シ。次^テ于^ニ余ハ東洋^ニ於テ吾政府ニ特別^ニ義務^ヲ、課セ^シタル諸條約^ヲ存仕^セテ^ニ于^ハ世界各地^ニ、平和^ヲ開心^ヲ有スル吾政府^ハ又通商^ヲ、^ニ平等^ヲ開心^ヲ示ササルヲ得ベト言明^セリ。

余ハ貴國政府^ハ全体^ニ亘^リ又ハ部分的^ニ此等諸條約^ヲ否認^シ且ニ^ニ屢々^ハ心^意向アリヤト訊^シ。又此等^ニ諸條約^ヲ無視^シ又ハ侵犯スルコト^ハ吾政府^ニ于^ハ迷惑至極ナルコト^ニ及^ビハ吾政府^ヲミテスカ^ハ困窮^シ、可能性^ヲ脱^セキムナラ^ハト云^ヘリ。余ハ此問題^ニ就テ^ニ直^ニ暗示^ヲ試^ミ居^ルモハアラバト云^ヘリ。大使ハ日本政府^ハ此等^ニ諸條約^ヲ否認^シ又ハ屢々^ハ通^ニ告スル意^圖ハナキ旨^ニ逐答^セリ。大使ハ日本政府^ハ加盟^權ヨリ生^シタル或考慮^ハタメ^ニ國際聯盟^ヲ脱退^{スル}、此^ハ十年^ニ至^ルニ感^ス居^ル旨^ヲ云^ヘリ。依リ于^ニ余ハ貴國政府

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か會員、資格ヲ拠棄スルハ聯盟、一員タリミコトヨリ
生ズル支障、タメナリヤ、將又日本かアルサニ條約、署
名國、一員ナルコトヨリ、タメナリヤト向ヒタクセシモ此ニ
對之完全ナル回答ヲ得サリキ

大使ハシタニヤガニ未ルベキ海軍豫備會議於テ、
日本政府ハ極東政策或ハシヒ類似、問題、條約ヲハ計
議スルコトニ反対テアリ唯純粹之海軍關係、部面ミヲ
採リ上ケラルベキナリト旨申述ベタリ。彼ハコト問
題ニ關スル政治的或ハ其他、面、既ニワシントン會議
於テ討議せし處ニテ、日本政府ハ之ヲ及復スルコトニ
反対ナリト云々。余ハ諭評ヲ差控ヘタリ。

Cohdell / Hull
11月11日

外交關係第一冊 二三三頁 二三六頁

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STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE 10

In reply to inquiries by press correspondents in regard to the "autonomy movement" in North China, Chinese and Japanese activities in relation thereto, and the American Government's attitude, the Secretary of State said:

There is going on in and with regard to North China a political struggle which is unusual in character and which may have far-reaching effects. The persons mentioned in reports of it are many; the action is rapid and covers a large area; opinions with regard to it vary; what may come of it no one could safely undertake to say; but, whatever the origin, whoever the agents, be what they may the methods, the fact stands out that an effort is being made--and is being resisted--to bring about a substantial change in the political status and condition of several of China's northern provinces.

Unusual developments in any part of China are rightfully and necessarily of concern not alone to the Government and people of China but to all of the many powers which have interests in China. For, in relations with China and in China, the treaty rights and the treaty obligations of the "treaty powers" are in general identical. The United States is one of those powers.

In the area under reference the interests of the United States are similar to those of other powers. In that area there are located, and our rights and obligations appertain to, a considerable number of American nationals, some American property, and substantial American commercial and cultural activities. The American Government is therefore closely observing what is happening there.

Political disturbances and pressures give rise to uncertainty and misgiving and tend to produce economic and social dislocations. They make difficult the enjoyment of treaty rights and the fulfillment of treaty obligations.

The views of the American Government with regard to such matters not alone in relation to China but in relation to the whole world are well known. As I have stated on many occasions, it seems to this Government most important in this period of world-wide political unrest and economic instability that governments and peoples keep faith in

principles and pledges. In international relations there must be agreements and respect for agreements in order that there may be the confidence and stability and sense of security which are essential to orderly life and progress. This country has abiding faith in the fundamental principles of its traditional policy. This Government adheres to the provisions of the treaties to which it is a party and continues to bespeak respect by all nations for the provisions of treaties solemnly entered into for the purpose of facilitating and regulating, to reciprocal and common advantage, the contacts between and among the countries signatory.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 240-241.

Footnote:

(10 Issued as a press release December 5, 1935, for publication in the morning newspapers of December 6, 1935.)

Doc. No. 219P (1^o)

BR. EX. 37 THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN JAPAN TO THE JAPANESE
MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AIDE-MEMOIRE

Excerpt

• • • • •

With particular reference to the Foreign Office memorandum of November 5 the American Government finds unconvincing the statement as contained therein that the proposed control of the oil industry in Manchuria is not within the knowledge or concern of the Japanese Government. The American Government must of necessity assume that a project of such major importance to all concerned and one with regard to which Japanese interests including a quasi-official organization apparently are taking so active and so prominent a part can not escape either the knowledge or the concern of the Japanese Government. Likewise for obvious reasons the American Government can not accept the implied disclaimer of responsibility on the part of Japan in relation to the industrial policy in Manchuria of which this prohibition (project?) is a manifestation.

The American Government does not wish nor does it believe that the Japanese Government would wish to enter into controversy over the details of the project under discussion. The American Government feels however that it must call to the attention of the Japanese Government for that Government's most careful consideration certain facts and conclusions to which the American Government attaches great importance namely that there is proposed the setting up in Manchuria of a control of the petroleum industry which by whatsoever means attained and whatever called would in fact constitute a monopoly of the sale and distribution of oil in that area; that the creation of such a monopoly would impinge upon treaty rights which rights the authorities in Manchuria have affirmed to the world they would respect and maintain, an affirmation which the Japanese Government accepted and adopted in the protocol into which it entered with those authorities; that an oil monopoly and in fact any monopoly would in addition constitute a violation of Article III of the Nine Power Treaty to which both Japan and the United States are co-signatories. The creation of such a monopoly would adversely affect legitimate American interests long established in that region. Perseverance in this project by its promoters and indifference by the Japanese Government to that development and its consequences would tend to place at naught the emphatic and unconditional assurances repeatedly made by the Japanese Government of its devotion to the maintenance in Manchuria of the principle of the open door.

• • • • •

TOKYO, November 30, 1934

Foreign Relations I, pp. 143-144

圖書出版說明 (註)

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2190 (25)

北支那民族自治運動，美國人中國人及日本人，活動上要來
到加政府，總務司內人新嘉坡總領事，總商二啓（總務長官
八次，總商二啓四次。

中國名號二於十九罪大惡中十情極為人知。日本政府並二中國名號
十之六中國二制管關係，有不名譽的當然。且以必然的開心，
持少主子日本化，其理由八、中國國之又中國二於二條約國
之條款上，有甚三義教人一般二同日本化。合舉國人夫等條約國
之不平心。

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中國ニ開スルミナフベ全世界ニ關係アル本件ニ開スル重米和加
政府、見解ハ明カニ知ラシテ井ルトロアル。余が屢々述バタ
様ニ、此政治的不安ト經濟的不安定、時代ニ於テ各國政府
並ニ國民が原則及舊約ヲ遵守スルトハ最尤重要ナコトト
本政府ハ考ヘル。國際關係ニ於テハ秩序化生活及進歩ニ
要ハ信賴、安定、安全感ヲアラシム為ハ協定ガアリ且シ協定
ノ尊重ガナフテハナナリ。吾國ハソノ傳統政策ノ基本原則則
ヲ固執シキル。本政府ハソノ加盟スル條約、條項ヲ遵奉シ、
相互ノ通商、利益、為、調印國會、接觸ヲ助長規整
スル目的以テ最嚴肅ニ締結シタ條約條項ヲ各國が遵守會セ
ヨコトキ依然頼フキナリ。

外交關係第一卷 二四。一四〇頁

註 | 一九三五年十二月六日附朝刊「獨載」及十二月五日
新聞記事ト之ヲ發表サルモノ、

1939 Dec 21 9P(18)

抄錄

駐米國大使館、日本外務省宛補助書

△

特二十一月廿日附外務省覽書旨¹参照。米國政府滿洲²於³石油事業⁴對⁵提⁶本⁷化統制⁸日本政府、閣知⁹、千¹⁰輝¹¹、¹²天、¹³ナル¹⁴、¹⁵ト、¹⁶右覽書中¹⁷、¹⁸該¹⁹明²⁰首肯²¹得²²天²³。米國政府²⁴全閣²⁵事²⁶旨²⁷斯²⁸、²⁹重³⁰要³¹、³²計³³畫³⁴且半官³⁵組³⁶織³⁷、³⁸合³⁹日本事業⁴⁰團⁴¹が⁴²明⁴³カ⁴⁴、⁴⁵頗⁴⁶積⁴⁷極⁴⁸且⁴⁹顯⁵⁰著⁵¹後⁵²割⁵³、⁵⁴演⁵⁵じ⁵⁶、⁵⁷計⁵⁸畫⁵⁹日本政府、閣知⁶⁰或⁶¹千⁶²輝⁶³其⁶⁴執⁶⁵レ得⁶⁶天⁶⁷、⁶⁸ト⁶⁹主⁷⁰張⁷¹セ⁷²天⁷³得⁷⁴、⁷⁵布⁷⁶明⁷⁷曉⁷⁸其⁷⁹理⁸⁰由⁸¹ヨウ⁸²米⁸³國⁸⁴政⁸⁵府⁸⁶、⁸⁷林⁸⁸止⁸⁹業⁹⁰、⁹¹其⁹²、⁹³一⁹⁴表⁹⁵現⁹⁶ト⁹⁷滿⁹⁸洲⁹⁹於¹⁰⁰、¹⁰¹產¹⁰²業¹⁰³政¹⁰⁴策¹⁰⁵閣¹⁰⁶、¹⁰⁷日本、¹⁰⁸後¹⁰⁹割¹¹⁰、¹¹¹責¹¹²任¹¹³對¹¹⁴、¹¹⁵賠¹¹⁶示¹¹⁷的¹¹⁸不¹¹⁹認¹²⁰、¹²¹合¹²²認¹²³ト¹²⁴能¹²⁵入¹²⁶。

ノ¹米國政府²日本政府³が問題⁴、計⁵画⁶二閣⁷之⁸付⁹取¹⁰論¹¹争¹²、¹³閣¹⁴中¹⁵入¹⁶ト¹⁷欲¹⁸ス¹⁹モ²⁰、²¹十²²革²³ラ²⁴希²⁵テ²⁶、²⁷ニア²⁸ラ²⁹或³⁰ヒ³¹又³²斯³³ト³⁴信³⁵ヒ³⁶天³⁷ニ³⁸モ³⁹ア⁴⁰ス⁴¹、⁴²米⁴³國⁴⁴政⁴⁵府⁴⁶然⁴⁷今⁴⁸ラ⁴⁹日本政⁵⁰府⁵¹對⁵²米⁵³國⁵⁴政⁵⁵府⁵⁶が最重要⁵⁷視⁵⁸、⁵⁹或⁶⁰事⁶¹實⁶²及⁶³結⁶⁴論⁶⁵付⁶⁶日本政⁶⁷府⁶⁸、⁶⁹最⁷⁰要⁷¹周⁷²到⁷³、⁷⁴熟⁷⁵慮⁷⁶、⁷⁷對⁷⁸入⁷⁹注意⁸⁰喚⁸¹起⁸²セ⁸³ヤ⁸⁴得⁸⁵、⁸⁶却⁸⁷其⁸⁸石油事業⁸⁹、⁹⁰統⁹¹制⁹²滿⁹³洲⁹⁴=

該定ハコトヲ提案スモ、ニシテ其ノ如何手段
モ元成セラニセヨ又如何名義シテスル
モ事実上其ノ地域ニ於ケル石油、販賣及配給
獨占構成スベシ斯ル所也、該定ハ條約上、
権利即チ滿洲當局が之ヲ尊重且維持ス
ベシト世界ニ對し確言セル權利ヲ侵害スルモ、
ニテ然モ此確言タルヤ日本政府が該當局ハ
既結託議定書中ニ之ヲ且特用セル確言スル、
又石油獨占ノ事実如何ハ獨占モ日本
本及合衆國、而者ガ加盟シ居ル九箇國係
第三條、違反ヲ構成スベシ、斯ル獨占、
創設ハ長期間其ノ地域ニ於ケル建設設
計ハ米國権益ヲ不當ニ侵害スルベシ。該設計
ニ於ケル其起算者側、固執並其展開及
結果ニ對スル日本政府、無頓着振ハ門戶開
放主義、滿洲ニ於ケル保持ニ對スル事令ニ就テ
日本政府ニ依リ再三強調セラル無條件的確
認ヲ反古ニスル虞レアベシ。

東京一九三四年十一月三十日。

外交關係第一冊 一四三一四四頁

Doc. No. 219P (16)

BR. EX. 35

THE CONSUL AT MUKDEN (LANGDON) TO THE
AMBASSADOR IN CHINA (JOHNSON)

Excerpts.

Mukden, October 30, 1937.

No. 158

For Mr. Ohashi's ready reference Mr. Langdon cited some of the many declarations made by Hsinking promising to maintain the Open Door in Manchuria, namely:

The passage dealing with foreign policies in the Proclamation on the establishment of the State, March 1, 1932;

The telegram of Foreign Minister Hsieh to the Secretary of State of the United States, March 12, 1932, in particular paragraph 7, reading as follows: "With regard to economic activities of peoples of foreign nations within the state of Manchuria, the principle of the Open Door shall be observed";

The statement of Foreign Minister Hsieh on the occasion of the signing of the Manchukuo-Japan Protocol of September 15, 1932;

The telegram of congratulation of November 12, 1932, by Foreign Minister Hsieh on the occasion of the election of President Roosevelt;

Statement given to United Press representatives in Tokyo by the Manchukuo Foreign Office (see Bureau of Information and Publicity, Department of Foreign Affairs, Bulletin No. 60, May 4, 1933);

Statement for foreign countries issued March 1, 1934, by Foreign Minister Hsieh on the Occasion of the enthronement of the Emperor, reaffirming the undertaking to maintain the Open Door announced March 1, 1932, on the occasion of the establishment of the State.

Mr. Langdon expressed to Mr. Ohashi his deep regret that the statutes of Manchukuo now placed discriminatory restrictions on the commercial relations of his country with Manchuria and requested that Mr. Ohashi communicate to the proper authorities the unfavorable impression which such restrictions were making in the United States, which treats the trade of all countries, including Manchuria, alike.

Foreign Relations I, p. 151 at
p. 153.

乙 940

219 P(16)-1

Bur. 35

奉天領事ラングドン (Langdon) ヨリ
駐支大使ジョンソン (Johnson) ベ

奉天 一九三七年十月三十日

(抜粋) 一五八號

大橋氏ノ参考ノ爲「ラングドン」氏ハ滿洲ニ於ケル
門戸開放維持ヲ約束セル新京ニ依ル多クノ聲明ノ幾
ツカヲ引用セリ。

一九三二年三月一日ノ國家設立ニ關スル布告中
對外政策ニ關スル部分。

一九三二年三月一日附、謝外交部長ヨリ合衆國
國務長官ヘノ電文中、特ニ其ノ第七節ニハ次ノ字句
アリ。『滿洲國內ニ於ケル諸外國人ノ經濟活動ニ關
シテハ、門戸開放主義ガ守ラルベシ。』

一九三二年九月十五日、日滿議定書調印時ニ於
ケル謝外交部長ノ聲明。

「ルイスベルト」大統領選舉時ニ於ケル謝外交部
長ヨリノ一九三二年十一月十二日ノ祝電。

滿洲國外交部ニ依リ在東京合衆國新聞派遺記者團
ニ與ヘラレタル聲明 (一九三三年五月四日附外務省
情報局會報六〇號參照)

一九三四年三月一日皇帝即位ノ時謝外交部長ニ依
リ爲サレタ滿洲國建國ノ際一九三二年三月一日附ヲ
以テ聲明セル門戶開放維持ノ企圖ニ認スル再確認ヲ
ナセル聲明。

「ラングドン」氏ハ大橋氏ニ、滿洲國法令ガ自國
ト滿洲ノ商業關係ニ差別的制限ヲ與ヘタ事ニ深甚ノ
遺憾ヲ表シ且カカル制限ガ、滿洲ヲモ含ム凡テノ國
トノ貿易ヲ一樣ニ取扱フ合衆國ニ於テ好マシカラザ
ル印象ヲ作りツツアル事ヲ、シカルベキ當局ニ傳ヘ
ル様大橋氏ニ要求セリ。

外交關係第一冊第一五一頁及ビ第一五三頁

Doc. No. 219P (19)

BR. EX. 38

ORAL STATEMENTS BY THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN
(GRFW) TO THE JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
(HIROTA)

(TOKYO, April 16, 1935.)

1. The creation of the oil monopoly in Manchuria, and the part played therein by Japanese nationals and interest, will have a deplorable effect upon public opinion in the United States, which regards the monopoly and Japanese participation therein as clear breaches of treaty obligations.

2. The American companies selling oil in Manchuria have been engaged in good faith in the oil business for many years and have built up their business with the expenditure of much thought, energy and money. During all of this time they have maintained supplies sufficient to carry on the business uninterrupted, and there is no record, so far as the Embassy is aware, of their having engaged in practices that were unfair to their clients or detrimental in any way to the best interests of Manchuria. The destruction, through the operation of the Monopoly, of this business and the good will so carefully built up over a long period of years, and the throwing of this business in large part into Japanese hands, will appear to the American public to be a most inequitable proceeding.

3. The Japanese Government disclaims responsibility for measures taken by the authorities in Manchuria in establishing the monopoly on the ground that they are acts of a state recognized by Japan as sovereign and independent. Nevertheless the peculiar relations and undoubted influence of Japan with those authorities have been fully demonstrated in other recent issues. This inconsistency is certain to affect adversely American opinion of the good faith and sincerity of the Japanese contentions in the present issue.

4. The American oil interests are being deprived of a business which they have been lawfully conducting for many years, on the ground, among others, of national defense, for which the Japanese Government insists it has responsibility. If the principle of national defense is involved, therefore, it would seem that Japan can not dissociate itself from the monopoly project. On the other hand, if the monopoly project is purely a commercial question, or is concerned solely with economic policy, it would appear to be eminently fitting for Japan to associate itself with other nations to assist in maintaining the principle of equality of commercial opportunity in Manchuria.

Eu 941

doc 219P(19)

在日アメリカ大使(ケリー) GRANT / 日本外務大臣(廣田) /
口頭申入 (東京昭和十九年五月四日六日)

1. 満洲に於ける油事情實、周知及び之に関連して日本人以日本在事業
團之處にて演セラシタ破割、事實及び夫に於ける日本人参加
ヲ條約義務移し、明かに違反し見做ス、合衆国、輿論上悲
し、余影響織合當にアリ、

2. 満洲に於ける油事情實、周知及び之に會社、何等も亘ツテ識
實ニ油事業ニ從事シテ未だナリ多々、思慮上精ハト金
子費シテ、彼等事業小工建設シタリナリベテ、此間ニヨリ事業
ヲ妨セラシテ、行スル二十余年ヒ供給ヲ彼等ハ維持シ彼等ハ實
業ニ顧客ニ付シテ正當ナラサニ事ヲシタリ或ハ滿洲、最善云
利益ニ何等力及スルヤウ事ヲシテ大使館、知照
リニ於テ、記録ナリナリ、事實、運営ヲ通ヒテセタシ以
事業、破壊及び長年某月ヲ要シテ皆化ク老舗權、破壊
ニシテ此事業大詫命アリ平人手三事不比事ハアリカシ
國民ニ取ツア、非常ニ不當ト行事上思心ナリアラウ

3. 日本政府ハ滿洲に於ける局ガ事業實ニ周知セニ加エ
手段ニ付スル者有シ其等ハ日本ニヨリ主權ヲ有シ且ソ獨立セル
ト國家ニシテ國、行軍トト言フ根據ヲ以テ否認
シテナヒ、ソニモ拘フ其等局ニ付スル日本、特殊關係
及ビ實力ハ勿論、出來事ヨリ十分不仲矣、

此ノ事實、公文書アリ、問題ニ於ける日本側主張、信譽
ト實面目ニ就テアリカ、輿論ニ並效果ヲ甚ハリアラウ
久日本政府が醜中大ニ付シテ責任アリト主張スル國防、相
機アリ長年三月、合法的=行ハリ未名事業ヲアリ也、石油
事業團ハ其年カラ運営シテ、若ニモ国防原則が包合せサル

doc219p(19)

ナラバソレ以日本八自ラ事務費計重山から離入事ハ右未ナ
松三田心心ル他面、事務費計重山が純粹ニ商業上向是アリナ
ハ或ハ全ク經濟政策ニシテ關係有入ナラバ滿洲ニ於ケル高
業様會均等原則ヲ維持ルニ於イテ他、國家上聯合シテ
又支那日本ニ取ツテ極メテ安否十措置アリト用ハシル
スル

外國關係 I PP 150-151

2

Ex. 45

THE JAPANESE AMBASSADOR (SAITO) TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE

No. 250

WASHINGTON, December 29, 1934.

SIR: I have the honor, under instructions from my
Government, to communicate to you the following:-

In accordance with Article XXIII of the Treaty concerning
the Limitation of Naval Armament, signed at Washington on the
6th February, 1922, the Government of Japan hereby give notice
to the Government of the United States of America of their in-
tention to terminate the said Treaty, which will accordingly
cease to be in force after the 31st December, 1936.

Accept (etc.)

SAITO

Foreign Relations I, p. 274.

乙 942

219P(26)

華府海軍軍備制限條約廢止通告文

614943

以書翰答上致候。傳著本使ハ本国政府、訓令ニ依リ左、
通閣下ニ通報スル光榮ヲ有シ候。

日本國政府ハ一千九百零三年二月六日ワシントン於署名
セラヒタル海軍軍備制限ニ關スル條約第三十三條ニ從ヒ茲
アメリカ合衆國政府ニ對シ右條約ヲ廢止スル之意ヲ通告
スル右條約一千九百零六年十二月三十一日後ハ效力ヲ有セル
モトス

本使ハ該ニ閣下ニ向テ宣示ノ敬意ヲ表シ候。敬具。

一千九百三十四年十二月三十九日

齊藤博

在(ワシントン)

國務長官ニ示セルニ閣下

Page 1.

Document No. 219P (27)

Br. Ex. 46

T E L E G R A M
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION (DAVIS)
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATELONDON, January 15, 1936--2 p.m.
(Received January 15--11:27 a.m.)

Excerpt.

• • • • •

The United States has been most desirous of reaching a new agreement for a reduction and limitation of naval armaments to supersede the existing treaties that are to expire at the end of this year. We have, therefore, been willing to discuss any proposals and to explore every possibility of agreement. We have been willing to consider any evidence that might have been presented to the effect that the present relative strengths are not fair and equitable and do not provide for equal security.

We have accordingly listened with the most careful attention to all the explanations given by the Japanese delegation of their proposal for a common upper level with a view to determining whether any new facts or considerations might be developed which would justify the United States in modifying its belief that the principles of the common upper limit would not be a practicable basis for the limitation and reduction of naval armament. While we greatly appreciate the clear exposition of the Japanese point of view presented by Admiral Nagano, the discussion has if anything served to strengthen our conviction that the principle of a common upper limit would not serve as a basis for negotiation and agreement.

• • • • •

Foreign Relations I, pp. 294-295

61 943
Doc 2/9P(27)

米國首席代表(デービス)/DAVIS/より國務長
官に宛てた電報

△

拔萃

一九三六年/昭和十一年/一月十五日午後二時、倫敦
發信、一月十五日 午前十一時二十七分

「合衆國は今年未失効する現存條約に代るべ
キ、軍備縮少及制限に関する計画及協定に到
達するやうに切に希望して來た。故に我々は
喜んで如何なる提案案でも検討し、又協定の
見込ある点を探し求めて來た。現在の/各國間
の/相對的兵力は必ず公平でなく、又均等
の安全保護を與へないといふことを説明するため
提出される凡ての證據を考慮するに各かたが
つた。

故に日本代表が最高規準を各國/共通にせよと
いふ提案案を説明したとき、我々は最も注意し
て耳を傾けた。而してその説明より 共通最高
規準の原則は海軍軍備制限を縮少に對する實
行可能の基礎でないといふ合衆國の所信を改変
する事を合理的に何が新し、事柄は考
へ方が發展するや否やを定めようとした
が、

No. 1

No. 2

Doc 219P(27)

水野大将の提出した日本側の見解の明確な
説明を我々は大に尊重したが、討議の結果、
共通最高規準の原則は交渉協定に
對する基礎として役に立たないといふ我々
の信念を擧げて置いた。

外國關係一、二九四一二九五頁

Doc. No. 219P (20)

Br. Ex. 39

THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW) TO THE
JAPANESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (HIROTA)

TOKYO, December 1, 1937.

No. 828

EXCELENCY: Acting under the instructions of my Government I have the honor to refer to reports that on November 1 (5?) a treaty was signed with Japan ending Japanese extraterritorial rights in Manchuria and that on this account there was issued a manifesto in regard to the extraterritorial rights of foreigners other than Japanese in Manchuria. It has also been brought to the attention of my Government that the branch at Harbin of the National City Bank of New York, an American concern, has received a letter from the Department of Economics at Hsinking stating that a recently promulgated "law concerning foreign juridical persons" "naturally" applies to all foreign firms and requesting that preparation be made to register and to appoint a representative in accordance with the law. The extraterritorial rights of nationals of the United States in Manchuria are granted by treaties between the United States and China and my Government considers that the law under reference which apparently contemplates the assertion by the authorities in Manchuria of jurisdiction over American juridical persons is inapplicable to American nationals and firms. My Government therefore is impelled to register emphatic objection to any attempt by the authorities of Manchuria to exercise jurisdiction over American nationals and to make full reservation in regard to the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens.

I am directed by my Government to address the Japanese Government on this matter in view of the relationship between the Japanese Government and the authorities in Manchuria.

I avail myself, (etc.)

JOSEPH C. GREW

Foreign Relations I, p. 154.

219P(20)

駐日アーヴィ大使(元) / GREW / 並 日本外務大臣(廣田)

宛
第三八号

東京一九三一年正月十二日

閣下、我政府指令三基丸、八月一日(五日?)滿洲於日本治外法權廢止國交條約日本署名アリ、此旨及已之件、滿洲於日本人以外外人治外法權二箇宣言が並々云々と曰、報告二言及ス、支那アリカ會社ニ、ヨリ十日後ニシテ、National City / 銀行 / 金行 / 支店 / 新第三終化銀行、最近合布セリト、外國法人ニ開港法律ハ、當該一箇、外國商社適用其旨遵守且、右法律準、登録及代表者任命、準備事務ハ、商請セシ書面輸送事、布我政府、所ト居リ、アリカ國籍人、支那於此治外法權ニ開港、本件法律ハ明ニ滿洲於此官憲加之、アリカ法人ニ付行政權アリ張セシ企圖之件モ、如キ我政府アリカ國人名の商社付、右通用之得、其事ト國考後、我政府アリカ國人ニ付行政權アリ付、此滿洲官憲、如何企圖ニ付、已強調在反對態度ヲ表明、且、合眾國名同市民、係上、鑑判ニ付、之が實全大綱(アリカ)、是れアリ本職、日本政府於滿洲於此官憲向、關係ニ鑑本件ニ開、日本政府ニ申入ラト大都、我政府命令セシル、次第十、

此款会二(三)

記念? 二、九

/ Joseph. C. GREW /

外交關係

一五四頁

Ex 945

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JAPANESE DELEGATION (NAGANO)
TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE (MONSELL)

(LONDON,) January 15, 1936.

MY LORD, I have the honour hereby to notify Your Lordship that as it has become sufficiently clear at today's session of the First Committee that the basic principles embodied in our proposal for a comprehensive limitation and reduction of naval armaments cannot secure general support, our Delegation have now come to the conclusion that we can no longer usefully continue our participation in the deliberations of the present Conference.

We remain, nevertheless, firmly convinced that our proposal is one best calculated to attain an effective disarmament, and we regret to state that we cannot subscribe, for the reasons we have repeatedly set forth, to the plans of quantitative limitation submitted by the other Delegations.

I desire to assure you, on this occasion, that we most sincerely appreciate the cordial manner in which you have been good enough to conduct the Conference; at the same time, I should like to tender our deepest thanks on behalf of our Delegation, for the hearty co-operation of all the Delegations to this Conference.

I have (etc.)

OSAMI NAGANO

Foreign Relations I, p. 297.

945

219 P (28)

日本使節團長(永野)從會議長(モーリー)/Monsell
宛書簡

(ロンドン)/LONDON/一九三六年一月十五日

閣下！

海軍力備、包括的制限及縮少ニ對スル我々ノ提案ニ包摶セ
ラシ居ル根本原則が一般的支持ヲ受ケ得ナリ事、

第一委員會、本日、會議ニ於テ充分明ラカニサルニ以テ我
代表部ハ之以上本會議、許諾ニ参加ヲ續ケル事ハ無益ナリ
ト、結論ニ到達シ乞フ閣下ニ御通告申上シテ存シス。
併シ我が國ノ提案案が効果的軍縮達成上最取善、モナリトス
ル見解ヲ依然堅持化セリテアリシテ、屢次述べシ理由ニ
依リ他代表部ヨリ提出サシタ量的制限案ノ承諾シ得ナリト
申上セハ、ヨリ遺憾ト致シマス。此機會ニ於テ然ニ貴下が
當會議ヲ極ムニ、懇切ナル態度ヲ以テ主宰サシタルニ對シ
衷心敬意ヲ表文化モ、アリリス。

同時三本官八事會議出席ノ各國代表部、懇切ナル協力
ニ對シ我が代表部一代リアリ深甚心感謝、意ヲ表シタリ
存シス。

永野修身

外交關係 I. = 九七頁

Document No. 219P (29)
Br. Ex. 48

Q. 946

TELEGRAM
THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GRFW) TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE

TOKYO, June 18, 1937--4 p.m.
(Received June 18--9:05 p.m.)

While the limitation of the gun ~~calibre~~ for capital ships constitutes one important aspect of qualitative limitation, the Japanese Government, in elucidating at the last London Naval Conference their basic attitude concerning the means calculated to bring about just and fair state of naval disarmament, made it clear that they could not subscribe to qualitative limitations alone, if not accompanied by a simultaneous restriction in quantity. The Japanese Government still hold the same conviction as regards the matter of qualitative limitations. Stated briefly, it is their belief that a mere limitation in quality alone will only induce a tendency to make up for the deficiency caused through such limitation, by resorting to quantitative augmentation, thus ultimately leading to a competition in naval armament in quantity. The Japanese Government, therefore, are not, at this juncture, in a position to adopt, apart from quantitative restrictions, a mere limitation of the gun calibre for capital ships, a matter which properly belongs to the most important phase of qualitative limitation and hope that the United States Government will understand the above-mentioned position of the Japanese Government.

It may be added for the information of the United States Government ~~that this position of the~~ Japanese Government as regards qualitative limitation was communicated towards the end of March to the British Government, when the Japanese Government responded to the British proposal of January this year regarding the limitation to fourteen inches of the maximum calibre of guns for capital ships.

June 18, 1937.

GRFW

Foreign Relations I, 301-302

61946

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電報

駐日大使(公一)/Grew/ 釜玉翁長官宛

東京 一九三七年六月十八午後四時

(六月十八午前九時五分發信)

主力艦、砲口徑、制限の實的制限、重要九都面を成る一方、日本政府の海軍之備縮少、公正安寧之状態モテラスモト、着ラル方法、考慮シテ前回、ロンドン海軍會議於テ其、根本態度ヲ明スルニ付、實量ニ於テ併行的制限ヲ併ニ、非サレバ實的制限、ニテ應諾スル事、不可能ル明言シタリ。日本政府依然實的制限、問題ニ關シテ、同様、信念ヲ保持シテ居ル。要約スルハ、實量的制限ハ量的増加ニ依リ、二千、海軍備、量、競争トナルニ依リ、此、如ナ制限ニ依ル欠陥ヲ、傾向ヲ引起スル事アルト云フ、其、信念アリ。故日本政府此際ハ量的制限ヲ離し、主力艦、砲口徑、軍力制限即ナ將實的制限、最も重要九都面ニ屬スル此問題、トナリケル事ナリ、江戸而シテ合衆国政府が日本政府、上述、立場ヲ了解スル事ヲ望シテ居ル。

實的制限、開スル日本政府、此立場ハ主力艦、最大砲口徑ト、十四吋、制限スル事、開スル本年一月、英國、提案ニ付ス回答上、日本政府が、直々英國政府ニ通告セタる事、合衆国政府参考、為記シテ才キアス。

一九三七年六月十八日

公一/GREW/

外交關係 I

二〇一頁 二〇二頁

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE¹¹

I have been receiving from many sources inquiries and suggestions arising out of disturbed situations in various parts of the world.

Unquestionably there are in a number of regions tensions and strains which on their face involve only countries that are near neighbors but which in ultimate analysis are of inevitable concern to the whole world. Any situation in which armed hostilities are in progress or are threatened is a situation wherein rights and interests of all nations either are or may be seriously affected. There can be no serious hostilities anywhere in the world which will not one way or another affect interests or rights or obligations of this country. I therefore feel warranted in making--in fact, I feel it a duty to make--a statement of this Government's position in regard to international problems and situations with respect to which this country feels deep concern.

This country constantly and consistently advocates maintenance of peace. We advocate national and international self-restraint. We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We advocate adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement. We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. Upholding the principle of the sanctity of treaties, we believe in modification of provisions of treaties, when need therefor arises, by orderly processes carried out in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation. We believe in respect by all nations for the rights of others and performance by all nations of established obligations. We stand for revitalizing and strengthening of international law. We advocate steps toward promotion of economic security and stability the world over. We advocate lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. We seek effective equality of commercial opportunity and we urge upon all nations application of the principle of equality of treatment. We believe in limitation and reduction of armament. Realizing the necessity for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security, we are prepared to reduce or to increase our own armed forces in proportion to reductions or increases made by other countries. We avoid entering into alliances or entangling commitments but we believe in cooperative effort by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles, hereinbefore stated.

Foreign Relations I, pp. 325-326.

Footnote:

(11 Issued as a press release on July 16, 1937; reprinted from Department of State, Press Releases, July 17, 1937 (vol. XVII, No. 407), p. 41.)

國務卿聲明書

66-947
Date 2/9 P(31)

予、世界、各所、於、紛、亂、事、能、令、起、此、所、謂、謂、不、安、

銀、是、夢、若、十、地、城、三、於、天、繁、張、人、逼、迫、人、就、是、故、面、上、
相、對、接、此、國、家、三、關、聯、也、不、如、七、之、三、寫、第、局、三、解、析、
不、大、八、全、世、界、對、于、免、日、難、利、害、關、係、有、之、不、大、不、合、
武、器、以、于、敵、對、行、為、進、行、此、不、所、或、其、勢、被、成、不、所、
即、九、千、國、家、權、利、利、益、重、大、不、影、響、現、實、自、受、若、
之、受、之、廢、已、情、勢、不、世、界、何、處、於、于、又、苟、不、十、七、動、
告、何、等、形、於、我、國、利、益、權、利、乃、至、義、務、關、聯、不、所、
不、下、不、此、成、予、我、國、深、關、心、有、所、國、際、關、聯、題、
及、情、報、關、聯、不、我、政、府、此、往、就、一、聲、明、書、發、念、權、
利、不、此、聲、明、書、務、不、不、感、及。

我、國、不、又、一、貫、于、平、和、維、持、主、張、我、等、國、家、
的、及、國、際、的、目、的、主、張、我、等、八、九、十、國、家、甚、政、策、遂、行、
武、力、使、用、之、不、他、國、內、進、不、步、此、事、ヨ、リ、自、林、セ、シ、
主、張、不、我、等、八、國、際、關、聯、於、此、題、一、解、決、
平、和、的、九、高、議、協、定、方、法、據、心、キ、コ、ト、不、主、張、
我、等、八、國、際、協、定、中、心、实、十、心、遵、守、不、主、張、
等、八、條、約、神、聖、主、義、遵、奉、不、其、條、項、が、變、
更、修、正、于、要、不、以、歸、合、二、相、互、援、助、和、解、精神、
以、テ、又、此、序、了、此、半、段、ヨ、リ、成、就、得、キ、天、
九、コ、ト、不、信、之、我、等、八、心、于、國、家、ヨ、リ、于、國、
權、利、が、尊、重、サ、ル、コ、ト、及、凡、十、國、家、ヨ、ル、既、定、
義、務、遂、行、セ、ル、九、コ、ト、不、信、之、我、等、八、國、際、法、

Doc 2/19P(31)

復而強化ヲ擁護ス。我等ハ全世界、經濟的保全上
安寧ヲ増進之方法ヲ主張ス。我等ハ國際貿易ニ於
于化進歩、障壁、低減或撤去ヲ主張ス。我等ハ
貿易上、有敵化機会均等ノ本又凡て國乃ヨル
待遇均等、原則、實施ヲ要望ス。我等ハ軍備、
制限及縮減ヲ信ス。我等ハ國乃保安、為過後、
軍備維持スル必要ヲ認めシモ、我等自ラ軍備ヲ
他國、軍備、増減ニ比例之増減スル準備ヲ有ス。
我等ハ同盟又ハ紛糾ノ未入如契約ヲ避ケ。然し
之以上引導也ニ厚則、支持ニ於和平的實業手
段ニヨル協同的努力ニ依頼ス。

(對外關係工三五三二六頁)

脚註十一

16.2 *

一九三七年七月十六日勅令公開記録上三三三號行
一九三七年七月十七日國務省勅令公開記録集
(第十七卷四〇二号四頁)ヨリ再版

Ex. 946

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(WASHINGTON,) June 12, 1936.

Excerpt.

• • • • •

In reply, I told Mr. Yoshida that I would speak frankly but in the friendliest possible spirit and say that the impression among many persons in this country was that Japan sought absolute economic domination, first of eastern Asia, and then, of other portions as she might see fit; that this would mean political as well as military domination in the end; that the upshot of the entire movement would be to exclude countries like the United States from trading with all of those portions of China thus brought under the domination or controlling influence so-called of Japan; that this presented a serious question to first-class countries with commercial interests in every part of the world, for the reason that, for instance, my country stood unqualifiedly for the principle of equality of commercial opportunity and industrial right alike in every part of the world; and that it would be strange and impracticable for my country to stand for this doctrine with the announcement always that it qualified same by applying it to only one-half of the world and one-half of the world's population. I remarked that I could say in all candor that this Government had never by the slightest word or intimation suggested to the people or officials of the 20 Latin American countries as to what amount of trade they should conduct with Germany, or Great Britain, or Japan, or any other country.

I continued with the statement that there was no reason, in my judgment, why countries like Japan, the United States and England, could not in the most amicable spirit, and with perfect justice and fairness to each, agree to assert and abide by the worldwide principle of equality in all commercial and industrial affairs, and each country solemnly agree that it would not resort to force in connection with the operation of this rule of equality and why Governments like the three mentioned could not sit down together and in a spirit of fair dealing and fair play confer and collaborate and not cease until they had found a way for amicable and reasonable adjustments or settlements. I said that this would wipe out and eliminate 90% of all the occasions for friction between the nations.

• • • • •

C(ORDELL) H(ULL)

Foreign Relations I, pp. 241 at
242-243

60 948
Mar. 21/19730)

國務長官覺書

(二二二) 貿和十一年(一九三六年)六月十日

拔華

其向答トア余平直然ニ志未限、友誼的精神ヲ以語ラント吉
恩云ニ次事ヲ申述ベタリ、則チ此國ニ於ルニシテ人々間ニ於ル印
日本が第一東亞、次ニ日本が適當認ム他地域絕對的經濟的制
霸ヲ求ム居タルコトニテ之終局ニ於ル軍事的支配及政治的支配意
味スルモノベニ、全運動、歸結、合衆國、如中國ヲ、斯ニ所謂日本、
支配或統制力下置カル支那夫等一切地域上、貿易ヲ排除
ルコトナルベ、之ハ世界ノニ部分ニ於ル商業上、權力ヲ有ル一諸國ニ
次、理由ヲ、重大化問題ヲ挙シテ、即チ例ハ我國ハ世界ノニ地域ニ於
有ル商業上、機會及工業上、權利對スル平等原則ヲ無制限的
標榜シテ、莫テモノルガ、シモ世界三分一世界人口三分一、該原則ヲ
適用在事、ヨリ我國が之ヲ制限スル事、不斷發表併行、斯ル
主義ヲ支持スル事、我國ニリ不可思議是實行不可能事ニ屬スル所ナリ、
我政府ハ二十、ラテアリカ、國及國民又官吏ニ對テ、許諾量、貿易ヲ
之國々が獨逸或ヒ大英國或ヒ日本或ヒ他國々ト行ハベカラニ
一言半句タリトモ提言或暗示ヲ、實旨示唆シテ、全、辛直
言得ルモナリト余述ラリ。

NO. 1

余ハ語ヲ續ケ、余判断ス所ニハ日本合衆國及大英國、如中國々が行
故最モ友誼的精神ニ在ル得サルカ、又互ニ完全正義、公平ヲ以
テ、商業又工業上、事項ニ於ル世界普遍平等原則ヲ主
張シテ、是ニ得サルカ、又各國が此、平等原則、運用ニ關聯言武力ニ
訴ヘテ、最厳肅同意ニ得サルカ、又前述如ニテ、攻防が公正正折
衝又行動、精神下、相會ニ該合ヒ又協勵、報等が友誼的且

NO. 2

Oct-21/91P(30)

合理的な調整又解決之道見本此之為行得其理由在于
思凡上余述之國家間於摩擦產生之為機會。凡此之
之形式下除去其上余述之

康乃爾 (Cordell Hull)

外國關係 I, p. 241 at 242-243.

Doc. No. 219P (32)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 51

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

Extracts.

(WASHINGTON) July 21, 1937.

The Ambassador of Japan called this morning at my request. After brief preliminaries, I very seriously addressed the Ambassador and said that, of course, he must be fully aware that when two nations comprising 500 million people are engaged in a controversy in which danger of general hostilities appear imminent this country cannot help but be greatly interested and concerned; that it is in the light of this situation and of the intense desire of this country for peace everywhere that I have been undertaking to confer with the ambassadors from both Japan and China from time to time regarding developments, present and prospective, in the danger zone; that I have approached each government, in a spirit of genuine friendliness and impartiality in an earnest effort to contribute something to the cause of peace and to the avoidance of hostilities in the Far East; that, if the Ambassador did not mind, I would be glad to reemphasize the chief points I had referred to in our previous conversations on this general subject and situation; that these included a most earnest appeal to each government, from every possible standpoint, for peace, as well as an earnest expression of the opinion that a war would result in irreparable harm to all governments involved and would prove utterly disastrous, in the present chaotic state of world affairs, to all phases of human welfare and human progress . . .

I then said to the Ambassador that I might repeat what I had also said to him at the beginning--that this government is ready and will be most glad at any time to say or do anything, short of mediation which of course requires the agreement of both parties in advance, which might in any way whatever contribute towards composing the present matters of controversy between Japan and China; that this was, of course, said to the Ambassador for his Government; and I added that I desired to repeat with emphasis the present, continued attitude of this government of thus being ready and desirous of saying or doing anything that the government or governments concerned might suggest which would be fair and impartial towards all concerned and at the same time calculate to be helpful in restoring thoroughly peaceful relations in the Far East.

I said to the Ambassador that there was another phase of the matter I would like to put before him. I explained that I was anxious that my point of view be completely understood and for this reason I would like to inform the American Ambassadors

in Japan and in China of the conversations held here and would like to have those Ambassadors report what I said, just as the Ambassadors of those countries to whom I spoke here would report, to the Japanese and Chinese Governments.

At one stage I asked the Ambassador what the latest developments were. He replied that he knew very little in addition to what had been reported to me by the Japanese Counselor during the past three or four days, except a report about a clash near the Marco Polo Bridge in which the Japanese used artillery only and declined to use their infantry. He said their purpose was to localize the controversy and avoid general hostilities; that he still has hopes that this result may be accomplished: that they are not bringing down troops from Japan proper.

The Ambassador said little throughout the conversation, but sought to make himself agreeable. I emphasized to him that if we did not feel genuinely friendly and impartial towards his country and all concerned I would not be saying some of the things I was saying.

During the course of the conversation, I remarked that I desired to refer specially to an incident of the past two days in which two American women, near their embassy in Peking, were assaulted by Japanese guards. I said that I had remarked to the press, off the record, on yesterday that I had only received newspaper information about this attack upon the American women and I could not comment upon it with accuracy until official information came to me; that in the meantime I assumed and hoped that our Embassy in Peking would take the matter up with the Japanese Government and a settlement, or adjustment, or action satisfactory to all concerned would be brought about. The Ambassador expressed his favorable interest in such action and also his belief that such would be the case. Dr. Hornbeck, who was present, remarked to the Ambassador that similar incidents relating to our nationals or the nationals of other governments have occurred during the past five years and that it would be very helpful to the reputation of the Japanese Government to see to it that their guards would deport and demean themselves in a way to avoid such occurrences. The Ambassador expressed his approval.

C(ORDELL) H(ULL)

Foreign Relations I, no. 330-333

國務長官賀書

268

接書

(9月11日) / WASHINGTON/

大正三年/昭和十七年/七月十一日

En 949 (527)
21949 (41)

余が東京に應じ、日本大使（今朝來訪せり）簡單十九前署二
次官、余（具劍）大使次官、如（申）人（ノ）有。即ち勿論貴大使
モノ御承知、信十九、五德、國民ヨリ成ニ、國家が相争ヒ、全
面的交戦状態現出、危險モ切迫シ居際、我國（ノ）之对于
深井（寅）心抱力無ヒ得矣。此情勢下且々全世界和平希望
東北我國、激烈化虞望トニ鑑ミ、余が從來時ニ觸じ日本兩大
使下、危機ノ存ニシテ北地帶ニ於て情勢、進展現状及將來
ノ見通シ、開設會合ヲ行ニ來ル此等ナリ。余が今迄兩國政
府ニ傳キカズ、純粹正友好的精神、無事トノア、極東事務於
此和平、達成上貢献、自誠上何等寄與不附アラント
シテ具劍大努力、極上來リタリ。若シ大使ニ於テ反対する事
上此一般的問題上情勢、開拓以來、諸合ノ際余が言及セ
ル言葉、再強調シタシ。之等が可能下サリモ元鏡也ヨリ、兩國
政府和平、維持ア東心ヨリ懇請セント心モ、才上矣、且ハ
戰争が總ニ、關係政府取扱シ、ソラ又模官ノ繩、又現時
ノ渾沌化世界情勢、於テハア形能ニ於ケル人類、宇宙
上進歩十二眞ニ悲惨モ結果ノ來入ベシ、見解ヲ極心ヨリ體歷
セモ、十九旨述ベタリ。

更ニ余が大使二次、如ク語シ。余が之亦最初二人使ニ逐ハル
事、即チ兩當面相側、同意ヲ前以テ必傳トスル、勿論十九何
事日、言葉ノ於テ多尔ナモ、日本向、繪事、現狀、行用

219 P (32)

寄與文化部アリベラ、一種、居中調停トシテ、本政府ハ喜シテ
如何ハ時ニテモ、如何ナル事ニテモ、遂ベ或ハ爲スノ用意アリ
之、旨余ハ改テ繰返シタシ。

此、乃ハ勿論貴國、爲ニ貴大使ニ送ベタル次第ナリト。更ニ余ハ
附加入天同國政府或ニ關係アリ政府、不喫入心處ニテ總テ、
關係國ニ對シ公正不偏ナリ共ニ極東ニ於テ完全ニ平和ニ關係
ヲ回復スルニ有効ナリト考ヘラル、又、如何ナル事ナリトモ遂ベ或
爲サシム用意アリ且ツ希望アリ我が政府態勢が現在斯ノ
ル共ニ將來也不要ナル事ニ反覆強調シ度シト語リタリ。

余ハ同大使ニ對シ本件ニ就キニ貴大使ニ提言シキ他内題
リト述ベ次、如ク説明セリ。余ハ余ノ見解ヲ完全ニ承ル、
カク切望シテ已ヌ。然レバ余ハ駐華アリカ大使ニ当地ニ於
ケ詔令、標榜ヲ通知シ且ツ之等ヲシテ余ハ送ベタムヲ報告セ
シル共ニ、當地ニ余が會議ニ關する大使モ右ニ關シシテ、政府
ニ報告セシムヲ希望ス。

會議二節ニ於テ余ハ最近ノ狀況如何ニ尋ネタリ。大使ハ此三
四日來日本參事官ヨリ余ニ報告セリ以外之ニ附ケ加ルベキ何物
モ殆ド知ラズ、唯蘆溝橋^{Marco Polo Bridge}附近ニ於テ衝突ア
リ、際日本軍八砲兵、三ノ用ヒ歩兵ヲ使用スル事ノ様況ノ下
ノ報告アリタリト送ベタリ。更ニ大使ハ日本側、意圖不詳ノ繪等
ヲ局地的ノモノクシメ全面的戰爭ヲ避フリアリ、余ハ猶シノ
目的、達成サルベキ希望ヲ抱キ居リ。又日本側が日本本土ヨリ
軍隊ヲ派遣シテル如キ事実無シト送ベタリ。

同大使ハ會議中殆ド發言セサリシモ、余ニ調子ノ合セント好
キタリ。余ハ余等が彼ノ國及ニ總テノ關係者ニ對シ純然タル友好

19 P (32)

無和、清ア雅ノニ非ヒ余ハ此方四十モ余ガ重ハタハ如十六申出申リナルベキコトヲ強調セリ。

會談中於テ余ハ在北京アメリカ大使館附近於テ二名ノアメリカ婦人ハ日本軍警備兵ニヨリ艦衣ハシタ此、首向ニ於テ一橋ニ持言及シタント述ベタリ。余ハ昨日新聞記者ニ對其、場限、諸事アリ余ハ此ノアメリカ婦人艦衣事件就キテハ新聞ニテ報道ヲ得タル。二月公報ヲ接受スル迄正確花論許ハシ得ト語リタリ。其ノ際余ハ在北京アメリカ大使館ハ本件日本政府ト向問題上ニテ上々關係者總ニ對満足ナル極着、調整或行動、前サハキモト考ヘ、且ツ希望ノタハ深繙ナリ。右ノ如ノ述ベタリ、大使ハ斯カニ平駿ニ對此好意ハ闇心アリス共ニ右様、解決ヲ見ルナラント信スル旨聲明セリ。其ノ場同席セルトベツク博士 Dr. Tombrockハ同大使過テ五年間アリスカ國人、其他個人ニ對此同様事件發生シタル事、日本警備兵が斯カニ事件、生起、避ケル様其振舞ニ氣ツツケル如ク日本政府ニ於テ注意ヲ拂ハルナラハ同政府、聲譽譽ヲ擧ケル大カ力アベシ上述ベタリ。

同大使ハ之ヲ肯定スル旨述ベラル。

二十九八(一) / C (ORDELL) H (ULL) /

外交關係工 三〇一三三三頁

Doc. No. 219P (33)

Br. Ex. 52

MEMORANDUM BY THE AMBASSADOR IN JAPAN (GREW)

(TOKYO) August 10, 1937

Excerpt

• • • • •
American Offer of Good Offices.

2. I then referred to the statement which I had made to the Minister in our last conversations as on my own initiative and responsibility, that I hoped he would let me know if he ever saw ways in which I could be helpful in the present situation. I said that my Government had now authorized me to present this as a definite offer of good offices and that I was doing so in an informal, confidential and exploratory way, first because it seemed to me important to avoid publicity, and second because we wished to avoid any semblance of interference and were only anxious to be as helpful as possible. I repeated and emphasized this aspect of my remarks so that there could be no doubt in the Minister's mind as to our precise attitude and intentions. I then said that it had occurred to us that either now or later it might be helpful for us to arrange some neutral ground for a meeting of Japanese and Chinese plenipotentiaries to conduct negotiations and perhaps to be helpful if difficulties in those negotiations should arise.

• • • • •
J(OSEPH) C. G(REW)

Foreign Relations I, p. 339 at
340.

Ex 950
Doc 2/9 P (33)

板萃

駐日米國大使(グルー)(GREW)備忘録

△

一九三七年、昭和十二年、八月十日(東京)
アスリックヨリ、日本外務省、幹部、申出タル件
一、ソーカラコ前大臣ト會議シタトキ、私自身、彼等心ト責
任於テ現行、狀態、於テ不役立コトアシタラ私ニ知ラセテ
頂度イト言フタコト、話が移ア行、本國政府が幹部、
具体的結果ト、意味アシラ贈呈スル權能、私ニ與ヘテア
ルコト、又第一、世間ニ知度ニト、避ケル必要ガルト、心、レ
タク、第二、私達が聊々トモ干渉カニキストラ避ケタキ
ト、心ニ入本ルダケ御援助本ルヤウニ心樹ヒタケアルトイフ
理由テ、私ニコトヲ非公式、秘密裡、且探索的ヤテキタ
トイコトヲ言セ。私達、帳面、態度、及考へ、对于大臣、ハ、中、起サセナイタメ、私、私、言、中、其、繰、
返、述ベ且強調セ、ソシカラ私ニ只今テモ今後テモ交
渉、行クタ日支兩國全權、會員スル何事も、中立地
帶、用意スルコト、戒ミト、役立テアラト、ノト、殊、
斯リ立歩、経過中何事カ困難、問題、起シトキ心
ラク役立モト戒ミガ考ヘラトコトヲ言セ

ジョセフ・グルー (Joseph C. GREW)

外國關係

三三九頁
三四〇頁

Doc. No. 219P (34)

Br. Ex. 53

THE JAPANESE EMBASSY TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Japanese Government wishes to express its concurrence with the principles contained in the statement made by Secretary of State Hull on the 16th instant (ultimo) concerning the maintenance of world peace. It is the belief of the Japanese Government that the objectives of those principles will only be attained, in their application to the Far Eastern situation, by a full recognition and practical consideration of the actual particular circumstances of that region.

(WASHINGTON) August 13, 1937.

Foreign Relations I, p. 342.

Ex 957
Doc. 21910(34)

日本大使館ヨリ 廣裕省へ

本日(先日)十六日、ハル國務長官ニ依リ、三局サシタル世界
平和維持に関する声明中、掲げられた若干の原則ニ對し、
日本政府ハ贊意ヲ表スルモノリ。

是等、原則ハ其適用ニ當リ極東、現実、特殊事情ヲ
十分ニ認識シ且実際的ハ考慮シ拂事ニ依リ、
始々行其目的ヲ達成シ得ルモノトヨトヨ、日本政府ハ信ス。

一九三七年八月十三日(ワシントン)

外國關係局 三四三頁

Br. Ex. 54

PRESS RELEASE ISSUED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF
STATE ON AUGUST 23, 1937

Excerpt.

The issues and problems which are of concern to this Government in the present situation in the Pacific area go far beyond merely the immediate question of protection of the nationals and interests of the United States. The conditions which prevail in that area are intimately connected with and have a direct and fundamental relationship to the general principles of policy to which attention was called in the statement of July 16, which statement has evoked expressions of approval from more than 50 governments. This Government is firmly of the opinion that the principles summarized in that statement should effectively govern international relationships.

When there unfortunately arises in any part of the world the threat or the existence of serious hostilities, the matter is of concern to all nations. Without attempting to pass judgment regarding the merits of the controversy, we appeal to the parties to refrain from resort to war. We urge that they settle their differences in accordance with principles which, in the opinion not alone of our people but of most peoples of the world, should govern in international relationships. We consider applicable throughout the world, in the Pacific area as elsewhere, the principles set forth in the statement of July 16. That statement of principles is comprehensive and basic. It embraces the principles embodied in many treaties, including the Washington Conference treaties and the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris.

From the beginning of the present controversy in the Far East, we have been urging upon both the Chinese and the Japanese Governments the importance of refraining from hostilities and of maintaining peace. We have been participating constantly in consultation with interested governments directed toward peaceful adjustment. This Government does not believe in political alliances or entanglements, nor does it believe in extreme isolation. It does believe in international cooperation for the purpose of seeking through pacific methods the achievement of those objectives set forth in the statement of July 16. In the light of our well-defined attitude and policies, and within the range thereof, this Government is giving most solicitous attention to every phase of the Far Eastern situation, toward safeguarding the lives and welfare of our people and making effective the policies--especially the policy of peace--in which this country believes and to which it is committed.

Doc. No. 219P (35)

Page 2

This Government is endeavoring to seek, to live, strengthened, and revitalized, in reference to the Pacific area and to all the world, these fundamental principles.

Foreign Relations I, p. 355 at
356-357

En 952
Doc 2/9 P(35)

一九三七年八月廿三日

△

國務省依^ル新聞發表

拔萃

太平洋方面現局面於本政府開心對象十七國問題：合衆國之民及其權益^ヲ保護^ス不^ル單十七國面問題^ヲ過^リ超越^ス重大^な問題^{ナリ}。

同地域^ニ於^テ狀態^{十五}個國以上^ノ政府^依同意^ス來^カタル^ト日^七月^{十六}日^ノ聲明^依注意^ヲ喚起^セアリ^ト此政策[、]一般原則^ニ密接關係^シ且^シ直接^ニ根本的^ヲ關聯^有此^ト事^{アリ}本政府^該聲明^中揚^ガル^ト此原則[、]國際關係[、]有効^ヲ律^スキ^テ十九事^ヲ確信^スル^トアリ[。]

不幸^ニ于^テ世界[、]何^カ部分^ニ重大^な戰鬪^行爲^ル心^シ或^シ存^在是^ル至^リ此^ト場合[、]斯^リ事項[、]凡^ニ國家^ト開心[、]對象^トハ^シ給^フ寧^シ真相^ヲ沐^フ、^シ判斷^ヲ企^図ス^ル迄^モ古^シ各^事國[、]對^ニ戰^争ニ^シテ^フコト^{アリ}差^於ハ^シ根^據淨^化モ^{アリ}、

或^シ彼等^ヲ其^ノ摩擦^ヲ戒^ム國^一國[、]ミ^テナ^ク全世界[、]通^じ大部分^ノ國^民、見解^ト國際關係[、]律^スル^トト^シ見^ルアル^ト原則^ニ據^ル解^決此^ト事^ヲ要^請ス^ル或^シ八^月十六^日聲明^述ヘ^シタル原則[、]全世界^ヲ通^じテ^ハ太平洋^{地域}於^テモ將^ア他[、]地域^ニ於^テモ有^シ通用^{サシ}得^ヘキ^ト思^惟ス^ル是^ニ余^則開^キ右^ノ聲明[、]包括^シテ^シ于^テ基本^的トモ^{アリ}。

シ^シハ^シニ^ト會議條約[、]巴黎[、]Brind[、]Paris[、]等^ノ條約[、]合^シ多數^ノ條約^中體現^セテ^シ十九^ノ諸原則^ヲ包含^シ有^シ。

Doc 219P(35)

極東於此次紛爭當初，我中國、日本兩政府三計，敵對行為，避~~ケ~~和平維持之事，重要性強調。又我之和平的調節，方向三向：（1）当事國政府，商議三國參加；（2）未~~テ~~，本政府：政治的連繫或貿易關係或，又極端~~テ~~孤立是事，（3）再，傾~~テ~~此二~~テ~~。本政府，七月十六日，聲明申~~テ~~カ~~レ~~テ~~テ~~是事目的，達成~~テ~~和平的三段，求人化國際的協力~~テ~~信~~テ~~置~~テ~~トス~~テ~~モ~~テ~~ア~~テ~~。明確~~テ~~能態度及~~テ~~方針~~テ~~，且是事有~~テ~~，範圍~~テ~~於~~テ~~本政府~~テ~~我國民、生命~~テ~~福祉~~テ~~，保護~~テ~~。且政策~~テ~~特~~テ~~國~~テ~~信奉~~テ~~。且~~テ~~約束~~テ~~和平政策~~テ~~，有効~~テ~~。極東事情，ア~~ラ~~ニ~~テ~~局面~~テ~~，注視~~テ~~。以下~~テ~~，本政府~~テ~~太平洋~~テ~~域及~~テ~~全世界~~テ~~開~~テ~~之~~テ~~事，根本原則~~テ~~支持~~テ~~。猶~~テ~~、更~~テ~~其活力~~テ~~回復~~テ~~。又~~テ~~擴張~~テ~~力~~テ~~下~~テ~~ア~~ラ~~。

外文文書 第一冊 三五五頁
三六一三七頁

NO. 2

Doc. 2192 (36)

Page 1

Br. Ex. 56

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE MINISTER IN
SWITZERLAND (HARNDEN)

(Substance)

Excerpts.

WASHINGTON, September 28, 1937
10 a.m.

It is desirable, however, inasmuch as the United States Government associates itself with the League's deliberations through authorizing the Minister to sit with the Assembly Advisory Committee and the subcommittee, that the Minister know of and understand the American Government's thought in connection with his possible contributions toward enabling his associates at Geneva to reach decisions which may have some beneficial practical effect regarding objectives which are common to the United States and to the League's members.

When Japan embarked last July upon military activities in China, the United States Government, which took full account of evidence presented at that time and during the past indicative of Japanese political objectives, on July 16 made public a statement of basic principles which it felt should underlie normal and peaceful international relationships.

Government

The United States reiterated more specifically on August 23 in a statement, with especial reference to the armed conflict between Japan and China, certain of the principles comprised in the statement of July 16, and the view was emphasized that these principles applied as well to the Pacific area as elsewhere. Attention was called, *inter alia*, expressly to the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty. Exception was thus definitely taken to the course followed by Japan.

Moreover, several definite steps have been taken in support of the American position: (1) Direct appeals to Japan and China to desist or refrain from hostilities. (2) repeated statements to both sides regarding the availability to them of good offices should they make any suggestions for resort to conciliation processes: (3) repeated protests to the Japanese Government against aerial bombing of noncombatants and publication in one instance of an American note to the Japanese Government in objection to and condemnation of such bombing and in another instance issuance of a statement today on that subject.

Japan's military operations have increased in intensity and in extent with the unfolding situation. Charges of Japan's violation of treaty provisions and international law have been amplified by the Chinese Government, and a willingness to resort to conciliation processes has been affirmed by the Chinese. The Japanese have announced, however, their intention to destroy the Chinese will and capacity to resist and actually to overthrow the existing Chinese Government. By declining the League Assembly Advisory Committee's invitation, the Japanese have refused even to consult with other governments with a view to adjusting their difficulties with China.

The Secretary expresses the feeling that the Sino-Japanese situation definitely concerns the world as a whole. No longer do the questions involved relate merely to specific provisions of particular treaties being violated; they are questions of international law, of principles of humanity, of war and peace. Naturally it is true that the questions involve violating agreements, particularly the League of Nations Covenant, the Nine-Power Treaty, and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. But problems of world economy, world humanity, and world security also are involved.

HULL

Foreign Relations I, no. 375-377

NO. 219P(36)

乙 953

NO. 1

國務長官ヨルク駐米公使(ハサウエー) / =

要旨

拔草

ワシントン一九三七年/昭和十二年/九月二十八日

午後十時

併し米國政府の其使節、總會顧問委員會及小委員會に出
席せん事に依り、其自身聯盟討議、参加スルモノ、其使節が
府於テ彼、同僚ニテ米國ト聯盟加盟諸國共通する若干目的、
觸之何等が有用、實際の結果、資本得若干、決定到達
スルヲ得云々、彼、可能貢獻、觸、米國政府、意圖、知
之、諒解置事、事、所ナリ。去ル七月日本、中國、於テ軍事行動
ヲ開始スルヤ、米國政府、當時過去、於テ日本、攻略的展開、期間
ヲ通じ、聯合、タル證據、微感的吟味、七月十六日正當且平和的
國際關係、根柢成る、上、看ル基礎的原則、觸、聲明、公表
下。米國政府、八月十日、聲明中、日本、中國間、武力衝突、
特、言及、七月十六日、聲明中、含、居、原則一部、更、逐條
的、又復、而、此等、原則、他、地域、對スル、同様、太平洋、地域
ニ、も適用、得、其見解、強調セリ。

就中明確、ケロッグ、ブリアンド、P、
及、九國
條約、就、注意、促、ル次第、
斯、日本、執、行動、計、
確、異議、表明、更、米國、立場、擁護スル、數種、具体的
手段、執、即、

- (1) 戰、事、中止、若、ノ、抑制スル様、直接日本、中國、對、要、請。
- (2) 若、日本、中國、和解、方法、殊、事、就、何、等、ノ、提案、ナシ、未
ニ、場合、米國、斡旋、彼、等、分、利用、得、事、就、テ、双方、對、又
復、聲明。
- (3) 非、戰、開、員、爆、擊、ノ、觸、日本、政府、對、北、復、抗、議、外、斯、如、爆、擊、

Oct. 219P(36)

對立する反對非難セラ裏覺書公表。更に三問題三題スル本日、聲明書發表。

當面、時局ニ關聯、日本作戦益々強烈、度々口へ且其範圍ヲ擴大シテ、條約、諸條項上國際法ニ對テ日本侵犯、非難セル中國政府、主張、高調セし和解、方法、折衷ニスル意圖、文那側ニ肯定セラリ。然ニ日本側、中國側抗戦意欲、能力、破壊、意在、中國政府現實打倒ニスル彼等、意圖、聲明也。聯盟總會顧問委員會、招請、日本側、支那、紛争、解決、爲他諸外國政府協議、事ヲ拒絶セリ。本官ハ今次、日支時局、明ニ全世界が憂慮、問題、思考モナリ。此問題、最早特殊條約、或、特定條項、單ニ侵犯問題、予テ莫、國際法、問題ナリ。人道、原則、開、問題、戰爭及、和平、問題ナリ。自然、此問題、條約、侵犯、特、國際聯盟、九國條約、及、ケロッグ・ブランソン、TELLOGGBRAND Pact、侵犯、包含、事實ナリ。然ニ世界經濟、世界人道、世界安全等、問題、包含、凡、所ナリ。

八、
一、
外交關係、二七五、二七七頁。